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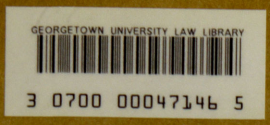

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A National Survey of Police and Community Relations

Prepared under a grant by
The Office of Law Enforcement Assistance
United States Department of Justice
to
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

A Report of a Research Study Submitted to
THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT
AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

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A NATIONAL SURVEY OF POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Prepared By
The National Center on Police and Community Relations
School of Police Administration and Public Safety
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

for
The President's Commission on Law Enforcement
and Administration of Justice

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PREFACE

The National Center on Police and Community Relations, School of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University, has been pleased to assist the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Executive Office of the President, in one important phase of its multi-faceted task, viz., that having to do with the police relationship with the community. In effect, the National Center was asked by the Commission to conduct a broadly representative survey including the careful collection and analysis of data, and as a result to design a series of recommendations or "action models," which might serve as guidelines for future program development in the field of Police and Community Relations. Ancillary products of the study included the development of an extensive current bibliography, the collection of pertinent documents in the area of study, the design of several tested survey instruments for data-gathering, the compilation of a significant amount of raw data appropriately classified for further research, and the specification of criteria for the evaluation of Police and Community Relations Programs.

The data-gathering aspect of the study, performed during the period March 1 - May 27, 1966, consisted of

the following:

1. Review of pertinent literature, and the preparation of a comprehensive bibliography in the area of Police and Community Relations.
2. Definition refinement and the selection of relevant and significant variables - in effect, the development of the instruments for the purpose of data-gathering.
3. Selection of representative sites for staff visitation, intensive interviewing, and planned field observation, beginning with the testing and validating of instruments in two sites.
4. Site visitations of one to three weeks duration at each of fourteen locations by staff members.
5. Execution of a complementary survey via questionnaire, with a representative sampling of police and citizen opinions in all fifty states and in cities with a minimum population of 25,000.

From June 1 to October 1, the collected data was analyzed and evaluated. The resultant models were developed and this report was prepared.

It is hoped that the proposed models may eventually be tested in a number of demonstration projects. Indeed, this may be regarded as one of the primary goals of the study, that is, to present models, based upon authoritative

empirical data, for evaluation under experimental conditions in the future. It is reiterated that the present report is based upon a careful staff study and is not regarded as a report of authentic research. The study was never intended as such, and it lacked several of the qualities to so qualify it. The total circumstances of the study simply did not permit such an approach. The results should, therefore, be judged in the light of these circumstances.

This report is submitted to the Commission with full acknowledgment of its limitations. Under the press of time some things which it would have been useful to do have not been thoroughly done, or not been done at all. Our assumption has been that this study is not to be seen as the end of a process, but as a beginning - a catalyst, a harbinger of better things in the future, a basis on which to project promising ideas for programs, plans, and further research that may contribute to the solution of very difficult relationship problems and at the same time

significantly affect "the crime problem".

John E. Angell
Paul R. Falzone
Raymond T. Galvin
John L. Kelly
Martin G. Miller
Louis A. Radelet
Vernon E. Rich
Robert Wasserman
William Yankee

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

When discussing a subject such as police and community relations, it is difficult to select a designated point in time and say, "it started here". The police and community relationship and its resultant problems probably originated at the inception of their interaction. Texts in police administration, dating back to the early years of the present century, indicate that questions involving the police and the community were not unknown to students of law and society at that time, and indeed, much earlier.

Public relations was one of the first of the problems in this field to be isolated. As early as the second decade of this century, Arthur Woods wrote his classic Policeman and the Public. While progressive police executives cautiously gave recognition to this vital activity over the years, police participation in the ever-growing problems of traffic regulation and control intensified the need for the development of intelligent public relations programs. Spurred the success of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's efforts to gain public cooperation and support, and influenced by the obvious difficulties

of the task at hand, many municipal police agencies adopted appropriate public relations policies and initiated formal training in the area. Finally, public relations was blessed with organizational status, with public relations or public information units being established in cities such as New York and Los Angeles. In recent days, this trend has developed urgency with considerable attention being paid to questions dealing with such topics as the police image and public attitudes toward the police.

Insofar as race relations are concerned, police interest heightened in this country during World War I. For this was the time when the first large migratory waves of Negroes from the South to the North began. The reasons for this have been documented elsewhere, and need not delay us here. Then during World War II, there was a tremendous acceleration in this process. There was likewise a considerable migratory movement of lower class Southern whites to Northern and Western industrial complexes, at the same time and again for many of the same reasons, thus setting the stage for new kinds of social conflict in many major cities.

Probably, the first reaction to the spectre of disorder was a very practical one, what do we do if there is a racial disturbance of some type? The question

implied, at the initial stage, an interest only in a tactical reply. But so far as it went, it was a beginning, for it pointed to an expressed need for preparation, planning, and training. The concept was purely utilitarian. In the practical world of the police officer, it is difficult to imagine how his interest in this field could have been sparked in any other way. The control of disorder was it.

During World War II, however, numerous city police agencies began quite systematic approaches to the development of special training for police officers in the subject-matter of race relations, racial tensions, the police and minority groups, etc. Few of these programs dealt with tactics only. There was recognition of the importance of efforts to prevent overt violence. This meant a type of police training that included attention to the causes of interracial friction, attention to understanding somewhat better the groups involved in the struggle for justice in race relations, and attention to the responsibilities of the police service in these situations if performance was to be more professional. All of these dimensions represented something new for the police.

By the end of 1952, Milton Senn was able to report the experiences of thirty major city police departments with police training programs in minority relations.

Some of these programs dated back to 1941-42.

In the summer of 1952 at the University of Chicago Joseph Lohman conducted a two-week seminar on THE POLICE AND RACIAL TENSION, attended by representatives of thirty police departments most of them training officers.

Events leading up to and surrounding the Supreme Court's decision in the school desegregation cases of May, 1954 served as an additional impetus, in fact a very pronounced impetus, for many a police agency to begin stirring in its peace-keeping responsibility.

Only a month prior, in Philadelphia, police chiefs from twenty-seven major cities had met in conference with human relations agency professionals to discuss "the potential for violence" that could be anticipated, no matter what the Court said in the school cases.

It was at this time, too, that the National Institute on Police and Community Relations at Michigan State University was conceived. The Institute, annually repeated since 1955, brings together police officers from across the country with a representative assortment of other community leaders. A wide variety and considerable number of related or parallel programs in police and community relations have been conducted in the years since 1955, promoted through the sixty-

five offices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Institutes on Police and Community Relations, of one to five days duration, often repeated annually, have been developed at the local and state levels, and in several instances on a regional basis with as many as thirteen states represented. Some of these programs have involved police only; others have brought police officials together with other community leaders, to discuss problems of mutual concern in what is billed as "an inter-professional approach to community problems."

Within police departments, training hours devoted to human relations material have been increased, although a 1964 National Survey done jointly by the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the United States Conference of Mayors indicated that about 40 percent of the departments reporting (cities with upwards of 30,000 population) still offer no training in this field. Undoubtedly, this includes a good many departments offering little or no training in any field. Furthermore, among departments with some sort of training in this field, the survey reported "there is wide diversity in the type and quality of training involved."

One of the most significant innovations in the field of police and community relations was the development of formal units within police agencies to deal with

the problem. In the mid-fifties the St. Louis Police Department established and staffed a community relations unit which has served as a prototype for a more general application of the idea. This step gave impetus to like actions on the part of many other municipal police agencies and resulted in a trend which continues to the present day.[1]

PROGRAM ASSUMPTIONS AND GOALS

No introductory discussion of the subject of police and community relations programming would be complete without a statement relating the basic assumptions and proposed goals underlying the development of such activities. While no one assumption or set of assumptions, goal or set of goals, can realistically represent those utilized in the planning and organizing of this wide variety of police and community relations programs, the survey indicated the following as being the most prevalent assumptions:

> ...The law enforcement officer plays a crucial role in the survival of our system of government by law, and in the maintenance of orderly social relations, ideally expressed in the phrase ordered liberty with justice. Equal protection of the law is an extension of this principle, with its implication of respect for the rights of persons as persons.
>
> ...Professional law enforcement work requires special skills and knowledge, and demands exceptional standards of personal conduct and attitude.

---

[1]Programs in community relations were recently started by the following: Boston, Cincinnati, Denver, Los Angeles, Seattle and Nassau County.

> ...The unprecedented pace of social change in our time, particularly as it affects people-to-people relationships in the urban complexes where more and more people are concentrated, has created numerous problems in community relations which have great impact on law enforcement policies and practices.
>
> ...The administration of justice is the responsibility of the total community. Citizen involvement, with a sense of vital social and moral consequence, is a significant by-product of the dialogue engendered in Police and Community Relations programs. We learn from one another as we develop respect for those who are in some ways different from ourselves.
>
> ...The improvement of the police relationship with the community is not an end in itself. The Police and Community Relations concept can be directed to programs in crime prevention, delinquency prevention and control, traffic safety, the control of vice and organized crime, or a variety of other matters wherein the police and other administration of justice entities , along with other community services and organizations, have common cause and concern. The ultimate end is in the common good.

Insofar as goals are concerned, the study found one or more of six purposes commonly offered. These were:

1. To encourage police-citizen partnership in the cause of crime prevention.

2. To foster and improve communication and mutual understanding in the relationship of the police with the community.

3. To promote interprofessional approaches to the solution of community problems, and stress the principle that the administration of justice is a community responsibility.

4. To enhance cooperation in the relationship of the police with prosecution, the courts and corrections.

5. To assist police and other community leaders in an understanding of the nature and causes of complex problems in people-to-people relations, and especially to improve police-minority group relationships.

6. To strengthen implementation of equal protection under the law for all persons.

With these few historical and philosophical comments serving as a foundation, the most significant aspects of this problem will now be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE STATUS OF THE POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP

Any attempt at accurately describing the present status of the police and community relationship on a nationwide basis is, to say the least, fraught with difficulty. There are numerous reasons for this, but three are of paramount importance to this discussion.

First, the police and community relationship cannot be realistically isolated from some of the most vexing issues of our time. It is at the heart of such questions as civil rights and crime, and at least tangentially related to the problems of urbanization and poverty.

Second, the relationship is in reality a dynamic series of relationships at both the national and local levels. While there are identifiable issues which characterize the national scene, the local situation to a greater degree is the result of the interplay of local personalities, practices, and problems.

Third, the status of the relationship is hidden behind a plethora of emotional words, phrases, and slogans, most of which are either ill-defined or not defined at all. One side shouts "police brutality" and clamors for "civilian review". The police and their supporters

in their stead cry "political interference" and in some cases hint at a "communist conspiracy". It is extremely difficult to brush aside this morass of emotion sufficiently to come to grips with the true issues.

Despite these limitations, there is certain existent evidence which allows the formulation of a reasonably precise picture of the present status of the police and community relationship.

THE NATIONAL SCENE

Although the situation is quite confused, it is apparent that a sizable proportion of our population are either dissatisfied with or distrust the police. A recent poll conducted by Louis Harris substantiates this. The question asked and the replies were as follows:

> "How would you rate the job the Federal (state, local) Government does on law enforcement -- excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?"

Ratings of Law Enforcement

	Good-Excellent Rating: Federal %	State %	Local %
Nationwide	76	70	65
By size of Place			
Cities	80	67	57
Suburbs	79	71	72
Towns	75	72	65
Rural	71	72	66
By Race			
White	75	71	67
Negro	81	63	51

"Part of the general uneasiness about the police rests in the pattern of bribes, of taking money illegally. People were asked:

> Do you think there are many, some but not a lot, only a few, or almost no policemen in this community who take bribes of money illegally?"

Police Taking Bribes

	Total Nation %	Cities %	Suburbs %	Negroes Only %
Many Take Bribes	4	14	7	15
Some, not a lot	10	13	11	5
Only a Few	22	30	23	20
Almost None	43	28	40	33
Not Sure	21	19	25	27

"While the public overwhelmingly rejects the idea that many policemen are taking bribes, the significant fact is that less than a majority of the people felt able to say for sure that the police do not take bribes."

In the somewhat less sophisticated mail survey conducted by the study team similar answers were obtained. The respondents were asked:

> "On the basis of your knowledge of American police departments, how does your police department compare with others?"

	Excellent %	Above Average %	Average %	Below Average %	Poor %
White	20	50	25	5	0
Negro	2	26	43	23	6

Other localized attitude studies conducted in Houston,

Texas[1]; Los Angeles, California[2]; New York, New York[3]; San Diego, California[4]; and Washington, D.C.[5] all reveal approximately the same pattern. In each case the majority of the population consider their police department as either average or above average or as good to excellent. However, the amount of support received from the Negro community is significantly less with relatively large proportions expressing their dissatisfaction. Indeed, around 60% of San Diego Negroes indicated reservations about the service they received from the police.[6]

The consistency of the pattern should not lead one to oversimplification. The focal point of the conflict is often the relationship between the Negro or in some cases the Spanish-American and the police department, but it is not that clear cut. There are a minority of whites who are disenchanted with their police departments. Indeed, these people are often at the forefront of the fight.

---

[1]Survey conducted by Houston (Texas) Police Department, 1959.

[2]G.D. Gourley, Police and the Public, C.C. Thomas, Publisher, Springfield, Illinois, 1953.

[3]Survey conducted by WCBS-TV "Feedback" show, October,1965.

[4]Survey conducted under the auspices of the San Diego City Government, 1966.

[5]Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia on the Metropolitan Police Department,1966

[6]San Diego survey.

At the national level then, the picture is one of general support for the police as they are now performing their duties from the vast majority of the population. However, a small minority of white population and a near majority of the Negro population are deeply disturbed by present police practices and philosophy.

THE RATIONALE

The positions assumed by the various segments of the populous are based upon a number of levels of perception. Individuals can obviously believe something because it is so or because they think it is so. Both malpractice and misunderstanding characterize the police and community relationship. While it is true that police officers sometimes perform in discriminatory ways, it is just as accurate to say that much of the friction between the police and the community results from misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Thus, positions and attitudes in this area are like those in any other area, some based on fact and some resting on improper assumptions. Recognition of this is vital to this discussion.

Minority Attitudes

The basic reasons for displeasure and dissatisfaction with the police seem to revolve around two

general areas of interest, both of which are evident from this excerpt from the report of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission on "Police-Community Relations, Cleveland, Ohio."

> "The complaints of the Negro community against the police department are legion. But the most frequent complaint is that of permissive law enforcement and that policemen fail to provide adequate protection and services in areas occupied by Negroes. There is also the complaint of police brutality, and closely associated with it is the allegation that police officers are discourteous to Negro residents and frequently subject them to verbal abuse. In addition, Negro residents complain about arrest and detention practices of the police department. They also vigorously criticize the way some demonstrators were arrested and the failure of the police to protect civil rights demonstrators from unlawful violence. Finally, Negroes argue that the police department practices discrimination in its personnel policies."

Permissive law enforcement and a variety of other discriminatory practices then seem to be the two major problems which are at the seat of Negro antagonism toward the police.

A noted Negro psychologist in an interview with a member of the survey team strongly suggested that permissive law enforcement is by far and away the worst form of discrimination. He felt that Negro citizens in slum areas are subjected to criminal tyranny because of police indifference to their particular plight.

This position is further supported in a summary of "areas of concern" prepared by Block Associations and

other civic groups of New York City's Bedford-Stuyvesant community. The following factors were listed as the reasons for antagonism and conflict between local residents and the police:

1. The relationship between the police and the youth in the community.
2. Narcotics traffic, attitudes toward minorities and lack of police services.
3. Lack of Negro patrolmen stationed in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area.
4. Inefficiency of local precincts in handling emergencies.
5. Lack of respect for citizens.
6. Lack of morale in some individuals of the police force.
7. Need for foot patrolmen at critical locations--day and night.
8. Need for more patrolling of area.

In this same report, the three other categories of concern were: (a) Distress and danger to local residents from unlawful activities; (b) Unsafe and unsavory conditions on the local streets; and (c) Need for specific services to reduce the volume of the narcotics traffic in the local community.

The second major difficulty seems to be built around the area of either actual or perceived discriminatory practice on the part of the police. In the previously mentioned WCBS-TV "Feedback" survey, 85% of the replying

Negroes felt the police discriminated in a variety of ways. In like manner, the situation in Philadelphia is described as follows by that city's Urban League's Year-End Report, 1965:

> "Of concern to the Urban League is the relationship between law enforcement and racial tensions. This agency receives increasing reports of police harassment, abuse, and in some cases, the use of excessive force. We support all efforts to improve the conditions under which policemen work to enforce the law, and we support the concept that the community as a whole and individual citizens must join hands with the police to reduce the incidence of crime and to prevent criminal acts. Here the Urban League offers its assistance in whatever way the Agency can help.
>
> The fact remains, nevertheless, that many Negroes see the police as their enemies; and they see them as protectors of white people, not as protectors of Negroes, as well."

The story is the same from community to community. The California Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights' Report on California: Police-Minority Group Relations indicated in August, 1963 that the executive director of the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations doubted that he could locate 1,000 of the county's 461,000 colored residents who would say that Negroes were not discriminated against in law enforcement. The report also stated that Negro leaders in San Francisco felt that their sense of isolation from the community resulted in "feelings of non-involvement and the expectation of unfair treatment from police officers."

Although complaints of "police brutality" and excessive force receive the greatest attention in the news media,[7] our field survey interviews designated two other factors as prime irritants in the police-minority relationship. The first of these involves claims of verbal abuse and/or discourtesy to citizens of minority derivation. In city after city interviewees from white, Negro, and Spanish-American backgrounds focused upon this problem. While there was some doubt expressed as to the extent and credibility of charges of excessive force there was no reservation about the relatively widespread use of "trigger" words. Even in locations where positive efforts, in the form of written general orders on the subject, were taken by police administrators there seemed to be very little reduction in the incidence of the word usage.

The same general discontent was present in the area of "stop and chat" or "field interrogation." Again almost all interviewees pointed to this practice and its discriminatory application. Here, however, the survey

[7]It is in this area that the review board question has been raised. The survey team found this to be a major issue in terms of solving the citizen's complaint problem in general. In the team's opinion it is not, in reality, a problem but rather a solution which has become symbolic in the conflict. For this reason it is not discussed here but later in its proper perspective.

team found less unanimity as to how the problem might be attacked. Police spokesmen particularly stressed that what might be discriminatory from one point of view was simply good police work from another. All agreed that it should not be used to harass minority group members, many felt it was employed in this manner, and some indicated that since the technique is seldom utilized except with the economically deprived or certain racial and ethnic groups, it should be discontinued. Bayard Rustin when speaking on stop and frisk laws said:

> "Whatever its provisions or its purposes, this law is a nefarious example of class legislation, for its effect is to permit harassment of the poor. No police are going to stop and frisk well-dressed bankers on Wall Street-but they don't hesitate to stop well-dressed Negro businessmen, in Harlem and go through their attache cases. That kind of brusque police action is reserved for the poor and minorities like Negroes and Puerto Ricans."

There are a considerable number of other alleged grievances against the police put forth by members of Negro communities. For instance, the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia insolates such matters as frequent instances of arrests under the "failure to move on" provision of a local statute, the deployment of dogs, and the arrest of intoxicated Negroes when white persons are advised to "go home and sleep it off." The Commission also stresses complaints concerning the use of excessive force and "the manner in which offi-

cers question citizens on the street."

Finally, there is antagonism over what the minority groups view as discrimination in police personnel practices. The problem, however, takes different forms in different areas. With the exception of certain sections of the South there does not seem to be the blatent discrimination in hiring practices which there once was. Indeed, the chiefs of many large cities actively seek minority group applicants. Nevertheless, it is held that even current selection practices work against the Negro or Spanish-American candidate.

There are a number of reasons for this position. First, as studied earlier, minority group members have a distrust of the police which is either based upon their past or present discriminatory conduct. He, therefore, does not seek employment in this field. At the same time, the police do not feel generally that it is their responsibility to sell the minority group individual on becoming a policeman. As a result, a very small number of applicants are found to be coming from minority groups. Second, the standards which are established for entrance into the police field are designed without giving appropriate recognition to minority group differences. Written examinations may either be culture-bound or work against the Negro or Spanish-American who

has limited or below average formal education. Third, character investigations and oral interviews often employ the standards of the white community and work to detriment of the minority applicant.

Questions regarding promotion and the assignment of minority personnel are often mentioned. The number of Negro command officers and the utilization of Negro patrolmen was and is a factor in almost every city where there is a sizable Negro population.

Majority Attitudes

With the exception of some whites from the lower socio-economic groups who have the same general complaints against the police as the minority groups and some whites who are, for want of a better name, of a "liberal bent," the vast majority of whites are either apathetic toward the entire problem or support the police. They seldom see the police as perfect, but do visualize steady improvement and are willing to wait for slow and steady change. Their feelings seem to be that as we improve police salaries we will get better men and in the meantime the police are doing a pretty good job under difficult conditions. The majority of their complaints seem to be in the area of service and technical competence.

It should also be noted that the field survey did

discover elements of the "backlash" syndrome. While by no means in the majority, certain individuals expressed dismay and fear as a result of what they classified as "the too rapid pace of the civil rights revolution" or in more cases they indicated serious concern over the spectre of riots. In both instances, although more often in the latter, their support seemed in terms of the protection which the police provide against riotous behavior on the part of minority groups, particularly, Negroes.

Police Attitudes

The police view of the public, both majority and minority, white, Negro, and Spanish-American, also conditions the relationship. While many officers have taken the events of recent days in their stride, a considerable number see themselves as beset by enemies and an apathetic public. They are dismayed by the fact that they are compelled to "save" a public that does not want to be "saved". As in the area of the public's attitude toward the police, there are a number of concerns that should be discussed.

First, is the question of apathy. There is a strong feeling of frustration among some police that they have been abandoned in the war against crime. Incidents such as the Kitty Genovese Case in New York City are cited with

regularity as examples of the public's failure to support them and cause a great deal of consternation.

Second, the police are deeply disturbed and angry about the "unfair" charges made against them by "vocal" minorities. The claims of police brutality cause many officers to cry "foul". The clamor for "police review boards" causes deep distrust and emotional responses which lead to the development of wide breaches between the public and the police. Particularly, in this area, the police feel that they are being used as scapegoats for all the social ills of society.

Third, they strongly resent what they classify as the overemphasis upon the rights of the individual versus the rights of society. The recent court decisions especially those of the Supreme Court are viewed with alarm. In an editorial in the Police Chief for July, 1966, Mr. Quinn Tamm found it necessary to state his position on the subject of the Miranda decision. His comments reveal the feelings of many law enforcement officers.

> "It is not within the purview of the police to question the legal soundness of the Court's decision, nor is it necessary. This was done with detailed thoroughness by the dissenting Justices.
>
> It is within the purview of the police, however, to pose the following highly pertinent questions, not to Justice Warren and his four cohorts, regrettably, but to the citizens whom they serve:

1. Why are we indicted for performing our duty to enforce the law?

2. Why are we, in effect, denied a vital tool of law enforcement--interrogation of suspects--when the crime rate is already increasing at five times the population increase?

3. With our departments already undermanned and under financed, how are we expected to cope with the increased demands for protection that can be expected to result from this Court decision?

Fourth, the police are presently torn by uncertainty over their role in present day society. In their desire to "professionalize" they grasp those things that are most familiar. They emphasize those aspects of their responsibilities which stress crime control. This position often clashes with many phases of our present social revolution. The police are therefore, frustrated. They have made great strides from their point of view and yet they are castigated and thwarted at every turn. They are better educated and possess greater skill in the technical performance of their task, yet, they are criticized. They are far less corrupt, less brutal, and more efficient, yet, there is a call for greater civilian control. They simply do not understand such demands.

Finally, many police officers express and feel great concern over the "moral decay" of our society. They harken back to the old values and to a degree see themselves as defenders of the "status quo". They constantly

decry what they interpret as "lawlessness" and "disrespect for law and order". Their somewhat victorian view of life places them on a collision course with a sizable segment of the public who view the "system" which the police represent as an anachronism in our modern urban society.

In summary, these police see themselves as a beleaguered "army" fighting apathy and evil. They resent and are hurt by the storm of criticism which breaks around them. Although a gross oversimplification the statement of a policeman at the last National Institute on Police and Community Relations seems to typify their stand. After a rather extended attack on the discriminatory utilization of a particular police tactic and on the police officers who employ it, this officer rose to the defense with the following statement, "I don't know how you can say that, I've never met a police officer that I didn't like. We're good people and would never do what you suggest!"

This, then, is the national picture. As with any analysis of this type it suffers from oversimplification and generalization. In an attempt to correct these limitations, a more detailed examination of the police and community relationship in two composite cities is offered.

THE LOCAL SCENE

As indicated earlier the problems of police and community relations can be characterized in a generalized manner at the national level despite the obvious limitations of any such approach, but there is a certain degree of uniqueness involved in the situation as found in any specific community. In an effort to exemplify this circumstance, two case studies are presented. The sites referred to are in reality composites of actual situations discovered by the survey team. Nonetheless, they are typical and serve very well to demonstrate the varied nature of the problem at the local level.

City A

A recent survey conducted by a local research unit indicated a broad base of support for the Police Department. Indeed, every group interviewed rated the police between "Quite Good" and "Extremely Good". There were only slight variations between white and Negro respondents with Negroes being on the lower end of the range. Although all segments of the community seem to feel that they have one of the "better" police agencies in the country, there is a strong dissent from this position by sizable minorities of whites, liberals and poverty-stricken, and of Negroes.

There are three major reasons for the public's support of the police. First, this is a politically conservative community. Its normal reaction is to support the police. Second, the Police Department is a relatively progressive and efficient law enforcement agency. Support is, therefore, merited. Finally, the Chief of Police has made a positive effort to create a favorable image for the department. He has performed this task with admirable skill and success.

Unfortunately, these same factors have produced the basis for conflict within the relationship. Interviews conducted by our study team in 1966 indicate considerable favorable comment concerning the department, but in almost every case the interviewee felt that this surface respect worked against the solution of significant problems. In many instances statements were made to the effect that the Chief was out of touch with the reality of the situation. He moved in a world of bankers, industrialists, and commercial leaders. Liberal leaders and representatives of the Negro community constantly referred to frictions, but the Chief admitted to few. Major displeasure was expressed over the use of dogs in civil rights demonstrations, alleged discriminatory use of field interrogation, arrest and to some degree detention procedures, and discourtesy.

Also a major bone of contention was the Police Department's handling of citizen's complaints. The department dealt with such complaints through the chain of command. Neither centralized review inside or outside the department existed. Internal hearings were rare and considered unfair by liberals and minority group leaders alike. Yet, suggestions to establish a centralized complaint unit within the department were refused as "poor administration" by the Chief.

There seems to be a genuine dislike for the police among the poorer whites of the community, but they possess no vocal leadership and have a tendency to take care of their own problems. The police view them as violent, but almost seem to relish the comparatively simple problem that they pose.

In summary, there is a police and community relations problem in City A, but it is submerged in a conservative milieu and the euphoria surrounding a police department which has earned a "good" reputation. It is further submerged by goal priorities. Minority group leaders seem to be more interested in matters such as education and employment. The police and community relationship is a problem, but it will have to wait its turn.

City B

The striking thing about the police and community relationship in City B is that it isn't worse. The Police Department is smug and satisfied with itself. It knows "what it must do to enforce the law" and is not interested in any second guessing on the part of minority group leaders or for that matter the mayor. It feels that it has the support of the majority of the population and it probably does. Although the study team noted a considerable number of incidents which suggested discriminatory use of field interrogations, arrests and detentions against both Negroes and other minorities there seemed to be no general outcry.

One Negro leader sees "the City B Negro as docile and satisfied with the state of affairs". There is only a nascent leadership among the other minorities and problems of poverty and education occupy their interest. In both cases the minority groups are relatively small, and in few cases have they been able to present a unified front. There is a sizable middle-class of Negroes who seem to have only a limited interest in their poor Negro brothers and almost no interest in members of the other minorities who are on the lowest socio-economic level of the community.

There are, nevertheless, some who have expressed

disenchantment with the Police Department's performance, but since absolutely no progress has been made by direct contact with the Police Department, attention is being focused on the mayor. Through a series of moves and partially as a result of this furor over the police shooting of a Negro, he has been able to bring about the establishment of a Community Relations Unit within the Police Department. It has been effective to only a limited degree because of the latent opposition of the Police Chief and the rank and file of the department. This impasse is an excellent example of a growing phenomenon in the police and community relations field. Although politically elected chief executives often see the need to make police agencies more responsive to community needs, they are unable to accomplish this goal. Between pronouncements concerning "political interference" in the execution of their professional responsibilities and the strength that some chiefs have developed through their own form of politicing, city executives are becoming less and less able to control their destinies.

Team members also observed that while there was a stated desire to improve the relationship, the will often is lost in the pressures of the system. In City B as well as at a number of other locations, police administrators found it difficult to bring about compliance with stated policy. In some cases this was due to insincerity,

but more often than not, police officials seem to flounder in the implementation of policy in the human relations area.

So the situation is a stand-off for the moment, a circumstance under which the intensity of the frustrations and mistrust can be expected to increase. Such a situation may not breed a riot, but it will almost certainly bring about further conflict and less cooperation in our efforts toward civic tranquility.

Summary

There can be no doubt that there is a police and community relations problem in this country. In a general way it is a by-product of the Negro's struggle for equality. Without attempting to place a blame for the conflict on either side, it is evident that there is distrust and fear on both sides. At the heart of this conflict are the following factors.

First, the majority of citizens support their police either actively or passively, but segments of the community, most significantly Negroes and Latin Americans,[8] look upon the police as enemies who protect only the white power structure.

Second, in their rapid movement toward professionalism, the police have sometimes over-emphasized crime suppression

[8]This includes Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans.

to the detriment of the police and community relationship. Many aspects of the police's traditional public service goal are now shunted aside as being non or unprofessional. Professionalism must be more clearly defined. Technical excellence does not necessarily qualify one as a professional. At the same time, the public must take cognizance of the inherent difficulties of the police task and be prepared to assist them whenever feasible.

Third, the police seem to have a fear of public control. While no one advocates the resumption of the "spoils" system, it should be recognized that the public has the right to expect the police to be responsive to proper forms of political control in a democracy. The police as any other governmental agency must be accountable for their actions. The public, on the other hand, must be prepared to practice self-discipline in terms of its requests for service.

Fourth and finally, the administrative and supervisional levels of many police agencies are not sufficiently diligent in securing compliance with acceptable standards of performance in the area of minority group relations. Discriminatory behavior should not be tolerated.

If sufficient consideration can be given to these areas of concern and appropriate solutions can be found, a proper police and community relationship will be attained.

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZING AND PROGRAMMING POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Community Relations deals with that broad area covering the actual attitudes and perceptions in the police-public relationship. It is a wide and diverse subject area, including a number of sub-areas such as public relations and human relations. Our regard in this chapter is with the total police and community relationship as it is influenced by the organizational format of a police and community relations program. No two programs can be identical, for the community structures and cultures in which they must operate are diverse. Yet, certain patterns and programs can be established which should tend to improve the police and community atmosphere.

Police and community relations programs can not be developed overnight for they involve emotions and attitudes. The key to any successful police and community relations program is only found in the application of police and community attitudes and efforts toward the solution of common problems. An appropriate police attitude toward the public recognizes that ultimately the police are responsible to the public, and the professional concept of policing demands that members of the community be treated with respect and equality. No

miracle formula for improving the police and community relationship can be presented here for none exists. In its stead, what is required is diligence, experimentation, an open mind, and willingness to accept criticism.

The first section of this chapter describes the programs in St. Louis, San Francisco, Chicago, and Philadelphia. The St. Louis police and community relations program has been described in great detail because it was one of the first developed and has served as the "model" after which many other similar operations have been patterned. The other detailed descriptions are included because they operate under distinctive formats that are important.

The second section of this chapter provides detailed studies of special problems faced by organizational attempts or the lack thereof in the area of police and community relations. From these cases and on the basis of the units this staff surveyed a model is presented for a workable police and community relations program.

ST. LOUIS

The St. Louis police and community relations program was one of the first in the country and certainly one of the most extensive. It is currently involved in a great number of programs. The program is coordinated through a Public Relations (or Information) Division under the Board of Police Commissioners.

The Public Relations Division currently is headed by a Director of Public Relations. Within the Division is a Community Relations Manager, a consulting Professor of Sociology at a local university, a civilian Community Relations Representative, and a number of police officers, secretaries, and police Cadets. (SEE CHART I)

The Director is responsible for all activities carried out by the Division which, besides the formal police and community relations program, includes press relations, speakers bureau, publication of monthly magazines, and publication of informational brochures about police problems and activities. He formally reports directly to the Board of Police Commissioners but functionally reports to the Chief of Police, especially on community relations matters.

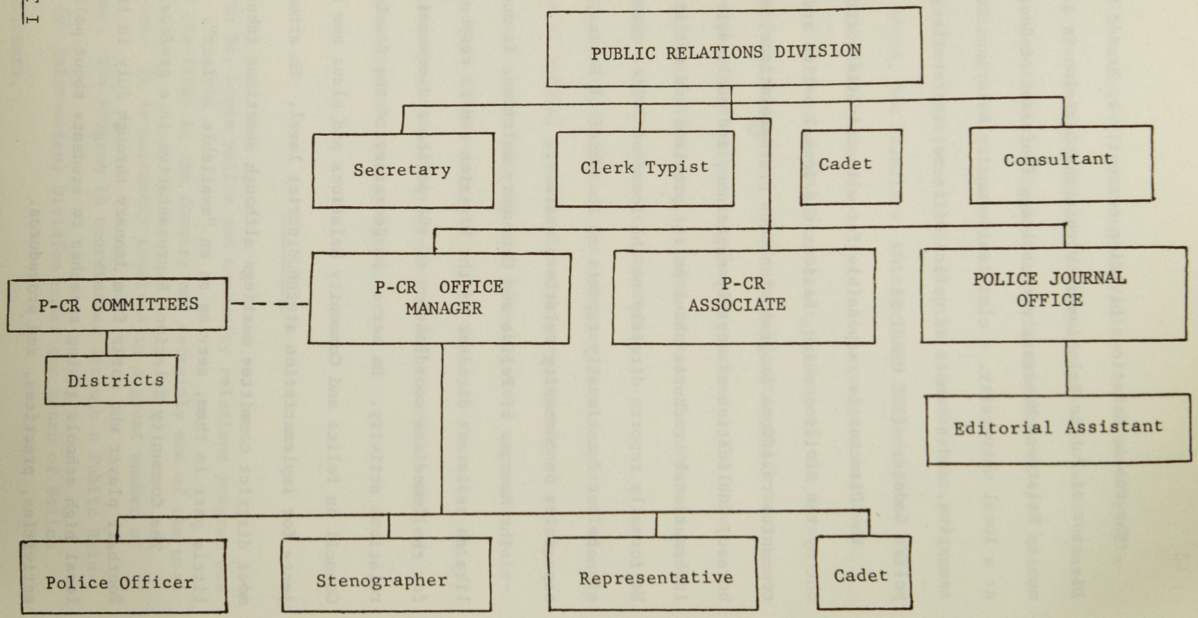
The Manager of Police and Community Relations is much like an assistant director of the Division and is responsible for the immediate coordination of the police and community relations activity. He serves as Secretary to the St. Louis Council on Police and Community Relations and plans new projects for implementation at the district level. He attends most district committee meetings although sometimes takes little part in them, serving as an "available adviser".

The Community Relations Representative is a professional football player who works from January through July in the local high schools giving speeches to students about police activities, practices, and procedures.

CHART I

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC INFORMATION DIVISION



The Community Relations Officers are patrolmen assigned to high crime-rate districts to work under the District Commander at making face-to-face contact with community members. He makes frequent appearances in the schools giving lectures on law enforcement and police techniques.

The District Committees. The programs and operation of the district committees are coordinated by both the St. Louis Council on Police and Community Relations and the Office of Police and Community Relations. The Council is a self-constituted independent body of private citizens which, although not officially affiliated with the department, meets regularly with the Chief or his representative. It is basically the original St. Louis Committee for Better Police and Community Relations established in 1955.

The programs originated in the Council and administered by the Office of Police and Community Relations are carried out by the district committees. The committees are composed of district police officers (the Commander, and special officers assigned to specific problems, such as juvenile and sanitation), and representatives of district residents and their organizations. Each committee has a chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary-treasurer who are elected by the general membership once each year. Eight sub-committee chairmen are appointed by the district committee chairman to lead their sub-committee in one of the following areas: Public Relations, Crime, Juvenile, Auto Theft, Traffic,

Sanitation, Membership, and Program. Each sub-committee chairman chooses at least five citizens to serve on that sub-committee and they are presented with proposed projects by the Office of Police and Community Relations.

The three officers of the district committee, the police commander, and each sub-committee chairman is a member of the district executive committee which meets before the monthly meeting to plan the activities. Committee membership varies with the particular district and the willingness and diligence displayed by the district chairman.

St. Louis has implemented a number of programs both city-wide and at the district level. The programs are planned by the Director of Public Relations, Manager of Police and Community Relations, and Consultant. They are then submitted to the St. Louis Council on Police and Community Relations, Board of Police Commissioners and the Chief for approval. A number of the programs follow.

Communications Programs. The Board of Police Commissioners and the Chief of Police have met with civil rights leaders, both at their own meetings, and at specially arranged meetings at Police Headquarters in an attempt to give both police personnel and the civil rights leaders a chance to discuss problems of the police and community relationship.

Meetings have also been held with representatives of St. Louis mass media to exchange information and create a better understanding of the community problems in this area.

Other meetings have been held with the Urban League, NAACP, Human Development Corporation, and other community organization representatives, to keep the channels of communications between the Department and these groups open at all times. One example was a recent NAACP Workshop on "Police and the Community". The Department supplied two ranking line officers, the Personnel Director, and Public Relations Director as Workshop panelists, and then appointed one officer per district to attend as observers.

Through newspapers, radio and television, including close contact with Negro media, a constant attempt has been made to keep the public informed on all police activities, policies, and miscellaneous items such as how to avoid becoming a victim of a crime, how to prevent crimes, and new laws that may go into effect. Interviews, feature articles, and programs have also been provided to help the public better understand the Department. Another program from this effort has been the publication of pictures in the leading Negro newspaper, with Department urging, of two officers each week with a short humanly-written biography of each. A Negro newspaper, which has frequently shown the Department in an unfavorable light, has run picutres of officers assisting citizens, such as sick cases, traffic control and other services.

Speakers' Bureau. Speakers from the Police Department are available to any organization or group from the Speakers' Bureau. Coordinated by the Public Relations Division to

explain the various functions or specific operations of the Department, about fifty programs, on such items as self-defense, canine, homicide, etc., are provided each month.

Immediately after the Police Department obtained a number of dogs for use in patrol operations, a command officer was sent on a speaking tour of the city, including schools, clubs, and civic organizations. The results were noteworthy. Resentment present in community segments when the dog purchase was announced dissipated rapidly as the reasons for and techniques of canine operation became known. Little opposition to canine operations was found in any community segment, including the large minority population. The speaker provided a useful service as he reduced community tension over a new police technique. The problem was quickly identified and steps taken to solve it using a speaker well suited to and accepted by the population to whom he was to speak. Today the canine officers with their dogs make many appearances in the schools to acquaint the children with the operation and to dispel community apprehension over their use.

School Program. Many school students are currently being reached through the police and community relations program. Beginning with the Head Start Program, an officer instructs students on pedestrian safety and they are given a chance to talk with the officer. In all school programs, the idea of allowing the students to meet the officer as a friend and human being, and not just as a police officer, is stressed.

In grades one through three, a more advanced pedestrian safety program is given students and a film is shown on the subject. Another film and talk by an officer is given to students in grades four through eight.

A program is currently being implemented whereby a police officer gives an hour lecture on the Police Department in each of the City's 200 eighth grade's Civics classes. A special textbook has been developed by the schools explaining the functions of government, with one chapter devoted to the police. The textbook is well done and a fairly substantial number of the photographs are of Negroes, both as police officers and citizens.

In the high schools, the Community Relations Representative, who is the professional football player previously mentioned, presents a film on police work and gives a talk mixed with personal observations. Here, the idea of staying in school and getting a good education is stressed as much as the police and community relations element of the program. Often he takes a representative of an employment agency with him to discuss with the students the current employment opportunities in St. Louis. A police officer, usually the District Commander, accompanies him.

Youth Council. The Youth Council on Police and Community Relations is composed of representatives of all high schools in St. Louis, one representative of the four classes, freshman, sophomore, junior and senior, and a representative of

the school newspaper. They meet five times each year with police officials, discuss the current programs in the high schools, arrange to have programs in the high school from the Police Department, and plan for the auditorium sessions that the Police and Community Relations Representative presents. They also distribute literature in the high schools on crime prevention.

Cruiser Tours. In this program, high school students chosen by their principals are taken on a tour of St. Louis in unmarked police cars and allowed to watch the officers performing their duties. This program is relatively new but plans for expansion are currently under consideration.

Citizens Against Crime Program. In the first phase of this program, 450,000 Citizens Against Crime cards were distributed to the citizens of St. Louis. These cards requested the citizens to call the police if they see something suspicious or a crime committed. Distribution of the cards has been made through local businesses and district committees. In the second phase of this program the Board of Police Commissioners selects from nominations made by the district committees and the Commander of the police district the citizen who, in some outstanding way, contributed most significantly to law enforcement that month. A plaque is given that citizen and other nominees receive a Letter of Commendation from the Board.

Convention Letters. All visitors to St. Louis receive, as part of their convention packet, a letter from the Chief of Police welcoming them to St. Louis and asking their co-operation in assisting the Department to protect themselves.

Businessmen's Meetings. Sponsored by the district committees, the businessmen in each district are invited to a meeting twice a year, at which time crime problems are discussed with them by experts from the Police Department and the Courts; and the businessmen are instructed in ways in which to avoid becoming the victims of crimes. Subjects discussed are: shoplifting, business burglary and robbery, and bogus checks.

Police-Community Relations Newsletter. A newsletter is published monthly for all district committee members, keeping them informed on the activities of all other district committees and the Office of Police and Community Relations. Through this means, the district committees are in constant contact with each other.

Tours. Each year, letters go to many schools and organizations in St. Louis inviting them to take a tour of the St. Louis Police Headquarters. Tours are given by police cadets and the Department averages about 1,000 persons a month who go on guided tours.

Law Enforcement Day. Every May, each police district holds an open house, during which all citizens are invited to visit the district station and view the latest in police equipment and demonstrations of the Canine Corps, Self-Defense, Decoy

Squad and other police activities. For the nine districts last May, the visitors to the stations ranged from 350 to 1,800.

Explorer Posts. Boy Scout Explorer Posts are sponsored by the district committees. These boys meet weekly and specialize in police activities such as firearms, finger-printing, first aid and identification. The Department has no involvement in Police Athletic Leagues of any type.

Sanitation Program. A constant program is carried on by one of the district sub-committees to improve sanitation conditions in the district. Literature is distributed, and the sub-committee works closely with other organizations and the district sanitation officer to achieve better sanitary conditions.

Public Information Projects. This type of public information effort consists of the distribution of booklets which inform citizens of ways in which to prevent crimes against person and property. Each crime is featured, with ways to prevent becoming a victim.

Having found that a large per cent of the calls received by police do not deal with police matters, a list of various public agencies has been prepared to inform the citizens whom to call for various problems.

Police and Community Relations Committees in Housing Projects. In a new program, district committees located in districts in which there are housing projects are holding special

meetings in the projects themselves to encourage the residents to attend the meetings and to communicate with the police. This program is under development and is considered of greatest importance. The present district committee organization is not "reaching" the majority of the citizens in housing project neighborhoods and an expanded program of this type is seen by the Department as being one possible means of meeting this need.

"Say Hi" Program. Another new program is a project in which school children are encouraged to just wave or say "Hi" to any police officer they might see. This is an attempt to increase communication between the police and the youth of the City. Participants in the program receive membership cards in the "Say Hi" Club.

As can be seen, the St. Louis program is well developed and utilizes a wide variety of techniques and programs. It has served as a model for many other programs now in existence and is characteristic of the "Advisory Council-District Committee" approach. It is one of the few programs utilizing a civilian director and civilian personnel.

The following section of this chapter explores another type of program as found in San Francisco. It is different from the St. Louis program in several important respects which should be noted before a final programming format is presented.

SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco has developed a community relations program unique to American police departments. Although the program is built upon formats previously developed in other cities, the implementation of the San Francisco program is one example of how departments might succeed in reaching large numbers of residents at the "grass roots" level in the community.

After a period of great tension between the City residents and the police department, as exemplified by the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee in the late 1950's, the Chief of Police and one of his lieutenants visited St. Louis in early 1962 to review the program in operation there. Upon returning to San Francisco the Chief developed a Community Relations Unit under the Office of the Chief (SEE CHART II). The Unit was established without utilizing the "citizen's advisory committee" on a city-wide basis as exists in St. Louis because the Mayor was against such citizen involvement in police affairs on a high level. An editorial in a San Francisco newspaper summed up the issue well:

> For earning (the Negroes) basic trust, Police Chief Cahill deserves credit--and, as Mayor Christopher points out, he should not be handicapped by a citizen's "debating society.....[1]

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[1] San Francisco Chronicle, August 21, 1963, Editorial.

TABLE OF ORGANIZATION

SAN FRANCISCO POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM

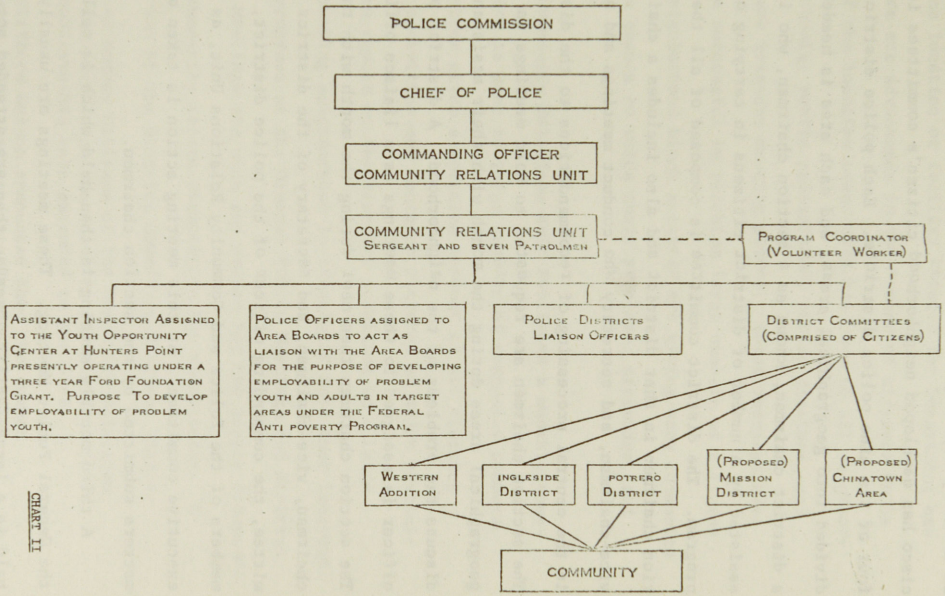
POLICE COMMISSION
CHIEF OF POLICE
COMMANDING OFFICER
COMMUNITY RELATIONS UNIT
COMMUNITY RELATIONS UNIT
SERGEANT AND SEVEN PATROLMEN
PROGRAM COORDINATOR
(VOLUNTEER WORKER)
ASSISTANT INSPECTOR ASSIGNED TO THE YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER AT HUNTERS POINT PRESENTLY OPERATING UNDER A THREE YEAR FORD FOUNDATION GRANT. PURPOSE TO DEVELOP EMPLOYABILITY OF PROBLEM YOUTH.
POLICE OFFICERS ASSIGNED TO AREA BOARDS TO ACT AS LIAISON WITH THE AREA BOARDS FOR THE PURPOSE OF DEVELOPING EMPLOYABILITY OF PROBLEM YOUTH AND ADULTS IN TARGET AREAS UNDER THE FEDERAL ANTI POVERTY PROGRAM.
POLICE DISTRICTS LIAISON OFFICERS
DISTRICT COMMITTEES (COMPRISED OF CITIZENS)
WESTERN ADDITION
INGLESIDE DISTRICT
POTRERO DISTRICT
(PROPOSED) MISSION DISTRICT
(PROPOSED) CHINATOWN AREA
COMMUNITY

CHART II

Faced with the impossibility of citizen involvement in an advisory capacity at the administration level, San Francisco has developed neighborhood citizen's committees in four of its nine police districts. Each police district is divided into geographical areas, and each area is headed by a district chairman, known as a section chairman, who is assisted by a number of district citizens in carrying out the program. The district committee is composed of all the section chairmen in that district and also includes a chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary who conduct meetings and assist in the central processing of recommendations to the district. The section chairmen are requested to hold meetings in their geographical areas during the month with their assistants to discuss the problems of the neighborhood. A district police officer is assigned to these meetings as a liaison officer. The section chairmen then meet during the month with the chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary of the district committee, the commanding officer of the police district, and members of the Police and Community Relations Unit, as an executive committee. At this meeting action is taken on the matters submitted by the section chairmen.

A third monthly meeting is then held which is called the General Public Meeting. These meetings are usually held in a large facility because they are attended not only by the working members of the committees, but other citizens of the district who cannot find time to devote their efforts as committee members.

The General Public Meeting is rarely held more than once in the same location or facility because the Department has found there are advantages in the number of citizens to be reached if the location eventually has been in all neighborhoods. Schools, public auditoriums, police stations, and churches are frequent meeting places. These meetings have been quite successful in reaching large numbers of citizens and the neighborhood block meetings are giving many community segments a chance to voice their problems, attitudes, and concerns.[2]

The Community Relations Unit publishes a monthly newsletter which is sent to large numbers of community members. The newsletter gives a detailed account of all district committee activities and contains pictures of major participants. The report on the district committee in a large Spanish-speaking neighborhood is translated into that language.

The programs at the General Public Meetings and District Committee Meetings are wide and varied but the topics discussed do not necessarily relate directly to law enforcement. A report on one of the District Committee Meetings stated:

> Officer Rodney Williams of the Community Relations Unit announced that the deadline for signing up for Medicare has been extended to May 31st.
>
> Mr. Clifford Nelson announced that the summer concerts to be conducted at Sigmund Stern Grove

[2]Interviews - community residents, April, 1966; The Spokesman, San Francisco (newspaper), February 3, 1966. Page 1.

> were free of charge and very worthwhile attending. Mr. Nelson also passed out brochures on the Recreation and Park Department's summer programs.....[3]

The committee meetings have become much like a "public forum" at which concerns of residents are discussed and information on city programs is disseminated.

Liaison With City Programs. The San Francisco philosophy, especially as viewed by the Community Relations Unit's commander, is that the police must become increasingly involved in the programs of other governmental agencies which have an effect on the crime problem. Recently a police officer was assigned full-time to the Youth Opportunities Center in the Hunter's Point Housing Project, a public housing development consisting largely of Negro residents. The officer's duties are concerned wholly with assisting young members of the neighborhood to overcome employment problems sometimes caused by previous arrest records. Thus, when an unemployed youth is unable to receive employment because of a past record the officer is on hand to interpret that record and many cases of misunderstanding have been resolved. This program is being expanded and an officer is now assigned to an office of the Economic Opportunity Council to perform the same duties as described above.

The assignment of officers to these programs is indicative of the wide range of programs and activities in which

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[3]News and Views, San Francisco Police Department, April, 1966.

the San Francisco program has become involved. The major criteria applied to program development and implementation is that it has an effect on reducing community tensions and improving the police and public relationship. The two following case situations are indicative of the degree of social involvement found in the San Francisco program.

1. An ex-convict recently released from a medium security penal institution came to the office of the Police and Community Relations Unit in a state of despair. He stated to the police officers that he was on the verge of self-destruction because of his inability to find employment since his release from prison. He also informed the officers that he had been told by some of his friends that the Police-Community Relations (Unit) might be able to assist him. The Unit immediately went to work on the case, coordinating their efforts with the office of the Chief to help secure gainful employment for the individual. They were successful.

2. A mother came to the office of the Police-Community Relations Unit with her daughter who had recently failed a civil service examination for clerk-typist. The mother informed the officers that she had attended several public meetings of the Unit and wondered if they could help her. The officers conducted an investigation into the educational deficiencies of the young woman and made the necessary arrangements for enrolling her in an adult training center to correct these deficiencies.

These two case histories deal with employment; in an interview with the Unit commander it was estimated by him that 40% of his personnel's time was spent in this field, that is, finding jobs for residents with problems. The rationale of the Unit in performing these services is that unemployment increases the chance of deviance and if the Unit can help in individual problems, this is preferable to allowing the person to remain unemployed. The Unit has developed contacts through the district committees which are on the watch for employment opportunities and patrolmen are being instructed to watch for places on their beats which are in need of new employees.

3. A robbery and beating of a white grocery store operator in a minority group neighborhood resulted in community-wide concern and tension. As a result of the efforts of the Police and Community Relations Unit, together with minority group leaders, a group of youngsters (many of whom had juvenile records) were organized into a picket line which marched back and forth in front of the store carrying signs condemning violence and stating they were ashamed of what had happened. Although the boys picketing were not involved in the robbery or beating they offered verbal apologies to the family of the victim for the act done by members of their race. The publicity given this parade by the various media of communications resulted in an almost immediate lessening of tensions.

4. After a series of rock throwing incidents in a neighborhood heavily populated by minority groups, tension in the community was running quite high. Again, as a result of special efforts on the part of the Community Relations Unit and minority group leaders, a rock clean-up campaign sponsored by a local newspaper resulted in a sharp reduction of community tensions. Labor organizations, trucking companies, and other firms offered their time and equipment to work with the youths, many of whom had criminal records. This action resulted in many expressions of approval by previously hostile community residents.

These two incidents indicate the emphasis on tension reduction activities by the Police and Community Relations Unit. This type of activity has been most successful in areas of the city where there are established committees as contacts can be easily made. The Unit has developed the means, in these areas, of immediately focusing attention on tense situations so that preventative action can be taken.

5. Several complaints were received by the Police and Community Relations Unit that recreation facilities were inadequate for many youths, especially in minority group neighborhoods. It was felt that this lack of recreation caused many youths to commit crimes, particularly on weekends. The Unit contacted recreation officials in the city and arranged to have the recreation centers remain open for part

of the weekend and provided police volunteers to staff and supervise the activities.

The recreation activities have been of major concern to the Unit. They have frequently approached the city officials with requests for longer hours for recreation facilities and have often been turned down. They have recruited volunteers from the Department to work at those centers where no manpower was available and plans are in the formulation stage for a program where Department officers can be paid for manning these centers, either through city funds or Federal Anti-Poverty funds.

Summary. The distinctive characteristic of the San Francisco police and community relations program is that it is more action oriented than any other unit surveyed. The Unit, working under a strong commitment from the Department administration, has been able to experiment with new programs aimed at relieving tensions throughout the community. Unlike most other programs, only a small portion of the Unit's time is spent in the area of "public information" activities but rather is directed toward providing services desired and needed by those community segments which traditionally have been in the greatest conflict with the police and other groups in the community. By placing officers in full-time liaison with the local poverty centers they have opened new communication channels with community segments never before considered "reachable". The neighborhood concept around which

the district committees are built is aimed at "grass roots" involvement and shows some signs of just such involvement in community affairs.

San Francisco and St. Louis have developed the most comprehensive police and community relations programs found in the country today. Most other programs formulated as of this date have been patterned after one of these two programs, most after the St. Louis program. There have been, though, many innovations occurring on an individual basis in varied cities which have had differential impacts in those localities. It seemed clear to our staff that where experimentation has occurred it has been limited by "straight-line" thinking by police administrators that tried programs are better than original ones. Other departments have ignored the need for a program until after a crisis occurred.

Following are some case studies made by our staff both in cities having police and community relations programs and in cities not having programs. We feel it is unimportant where these situations occurred but hope that factors brought forth by these experiences can benefit other departments and prevent them from making the same mistakes. The model presented in the last part of this chapter is designed to avoid some of these mistakes.

CHICAGO

Until recently the Chicago Police Department has not had a formal police and community relations program. During past years, however, the department has been active in the "public relations" field through a Public Information Division and in human relations fields through the Human Relations Section.

The Public Information Division, in the Office of the Superintendent, has responsibility for disseminating facts on department operations and activities to the community through four sections: Press Liaison, Publication, Special Events (scheduling tours and speeches), and Exhibits and Special Projects. Until recently it was the responsibility of this Unit to maintain departmental liaison with various community groups. The activities performed by this division are similar to those performed by the Public Information Division in St. Louis with the exception of that department's Office of Community Relations. Many public information projects, such as Operation Crime Stop, were originally developed by the Chicago division.

The Human Relations Section, headed by a Lieutenant, is responsible for the investigation and analysis of incidents having a racial, religious, or ethnic overtone. The Unit commander reports directly to the Deputy Superintendent for Field Services and advises him on possible tension and conflict points of the previously mentioned special nature.

The department has no formal police and community relations unit. In its place a community relations workshop program has been developed in cooperation with the Chicago office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. During 1963 and 1964 NCCJ experimented with these workshops in neighborhoods with the greatest amount of tension and early in 1963 the associate director of the Chicago NCCJ was hired by the department as a Community Relations Coordinator to develop the workshops department wide.

After a year of program development this person returned to her previous job with NCCJ and a Captain was appointed Community Relations Coordinator. The Coordinator works out of the Office of the Chief of Patrol and assists in the development of programs in the districts, consulting with District Commanders on program formats. The majority of the Coordinator's time is spent out in the community setting up workshop programs.

The Workshop Program. The Community Relations Workshop is a discussion group at the district level. Basically it is a special unstructured type of district committee meeting, such as is found in St. Louis. Each District Commander is responsible for the selection of a community relations Steering Committee. These Steering Committees consist of eleven to thirteen persons representative of the ecological structure of the community in an attempt to have all ethnic, racial, and occupational groups involved. Each steering committee is composed of three sub-committees: membership

and recruitment; program development; and program implementation. Each steering committee meets regularly with the District Commander and discusses those programs and problems needing attention. In essence, they direct the Workshop Programs.

The District Commander is the Chairman of the Workshop Program. Each district holds a workshop monthly which is attended by representatives of block organizations, P.T.A.'s volunteer groups, Boy Scout leaders, members of Chambers of Commerce, school principals, political leaders, community organization representatives, and other civic-minded citizens. It is the responsibility of the membership and recruitment sub-committee of the steering committee to see that all groups are represented.

The general format of the workshop is much the same as district committee programs in operation elsewhere; the District Commander calls the meeting to order, he reports on crime conditions, tells of action taken on complaints registered at the last meeting, summarizes the meeting of the last month, and turns the program over to an invited "expert". The guest speaker presents his address and there follows an analysis and discussion of the issues presented. Suggestions are then made by the District Commander of members of the Steering Committee as to how specific programs can be implemented.

The discussion and analysis is open-ended and its exact format or content is left to the discretion of the

District Commander and his Steering Committee. A comprehensive guide to workshop development has been prepared by the Coordinator and is intended to help the District Commander establish a program.

PHILADELPHIA

The development of a police and community relations program in Philadelphia came about in the late 1950's after a university study of racial factors in law enforcement[6] and an increasing awareness of the department administration that relations between the police and large numbers of recent minority group migrants to the city were less than satisfactory. The Philadelphia program is of special interest because it was the first program directed at reaching the grass roots" of ths community through the district level.

In 1956 a proposal was developed by the department and approved by the Police Commissioner to establish a community relations program based on a central coordinating unit and special police and community relations officers assigned to each of the twenty-three police districts.

During this period, the Philadelphia Youth Services Board became concerned with the lack of police and community cooperation and developed a film titled "Police-Citizen

[6]Kephart, William M., Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957.

ORGANIZATIONAL PLACEMENT OF POLICE
AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS ACTIVITY
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

CHART III

Cooperation". The police department granted the Youth Services Board $8,500 for the production of the film, this being the first expenditure by the Philadelphia Police Department in the community relations field and was meant as a symbol of the police commitment.

To staff the new community relations unit the police department invited patrolmen from all twenty-three police districts to apply for the position of Police-Community Relations Officer (PCRO). After careful screening, a number of names were submitted to the Commissioner and a special board composed of representatives of the Philadelphia Crime Commission, Philadelphia Human Relations Commission, and several community organizations for approval. Twenty-three men were then chosen and assigned as PCRO's at the district level to work full-time at bettering the police and community relationship. This original Philadelphia practice, no longer in existence, was unique to American police departments and gave citizens direct influence in the police matter.

The first programs were aimed at increasing the awareness of the community of police problems. A program was established called "getting to know you", first implemented through the community churches. Ministers called together groups of their parishioners to a meeting attended by top police officials who explained to the people police policies and procedures. The district commander and his field lieutenants were then introduced and explained their

role in police operations. Slides were shown telling the story of police work, often picturing actual scenes in the neighborhood. The parishioners were then broken into small discussion groups with a police command officer as a discussion leader and mutual problems affecting the police and the neighborhood were discussed. As the program developed, varying community organizations were involved in the process until many diverce segments of the community had met with the police. These programs have not continued city-wide for the impetus for such police involvement has been left to the district commander, many of who seem to show a lack of interest in carrying it forth.

The activities of the Unit and of the Police-Community Relations Officers at the district level are wide and varied but primarily aimed at publicizing police efforts and ways in which citizens can cooperate in crime prevention activities. There are a few exceptions and a number of the unique Philadelphia programs are described below.

Spanish-Speaking Course. A course in conversational Spanish has been instituted for officers working in districts having large numbers of Spanish-speaking residents. The need for this type of course became apparent from reports circulated to the department administration from Police-Community Relations Officers attending meetings in the Spanish Community.

The results have been favorable. Where before the course of communication between officer and citizens in

these neighborhoods was next to impossible, the development of a significant number of Spanish speaking police officers has opened new channels of communications on both sides.

Public Relations Promotions. The department has engaged in an extensive program of distribution of leaflets concerning many types of crimes and police problems. The wealth of literature distributed was more than any other city we viewed. Many of these leaflets are coordinated with special programs in the schools. An example is the "child molester" program. A slide presentation dealing with the child molester is given to elementary school children and they are instructed how to recognize such an individual and what action to take if he should meet or speak to them. Pamphlets are then distributed to all children and parents explaining again the points set forth in the slide presentation. Coloring books have been developed which are distributed to school children throughout the City presenting many of the same points expressed in the school programs.

Weekly promotions are submitted to various community newspapers. News covering police commendations for outstanding arrests and other typical matters are published in various religious papers, Negro, Jewish, Polish and Spanish newspapers.

Complaint Investigations. When the Police Advisory Board (i.e., the Philadelphia citizen "review" board) receives a complaint against the department it is assigned to the

Police-Community Relations Unit for investigation. This is the only type of complaint this Unit investigates, all others being assigned by the Commissioner to line units. The Police-Community Relations Unit reports on its investigation back to the Advisory Board.

There is little resentment by department members of this function being performed by the Police-Community Relations Unit and it seems that assignment of these complaints to this Unit is based on the relationship they have developed with minority groups.

SELECTED ASPECTS OF OTHER POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAMS

The previously presented case studies provide an example of the major organizational patterns and the programs currently in operation. However, some comment should be made and analysis offered concerning these and other units and programs so that a clearer perspective might be obtained of national trends.

Organization for Police and Community Relations. Of the seventy-five locations surveyed either by questionnaire or visitation, twenty-eight had formal units. They varied considerably in organizational location, size and purpose.

While these twenty-eight departments did have formal police and community relations units, the study indicated that a number of them existed although the chief executive of the department was either opposed or apathetic to the

activity. An example of one such program is found in a Western city.

In 1964 a pilot project was established in one police district as a cooperative venture between one District Commander and the regional Director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. An experimental district committee was formed with the commander as chairman and residents and intergroup professionals as members. The purpose of the committee was: (1) education and information in an attractive and entertaining form which will enable citizens of all age levels to become familiar with the great variety of services performed by the police, (2) more opportunities for citizens to come to know more members of the Police Department personally, and (3) more opportunities to develop two-way communication between citizens in the community and members of the Police Department about matters of mutual concern, especially in the complex areas of human relations.

This effort was fairly successful and received the active support of most residents in the area. Most of the program efforts were aimed at establishing a dialogue between citizens, police, and intergroup professionals in the district. After being in existence for about a year the intergroup professionals pressured the Mayor to form a city-wide program and establish a police and community relations unit within the police department. From our

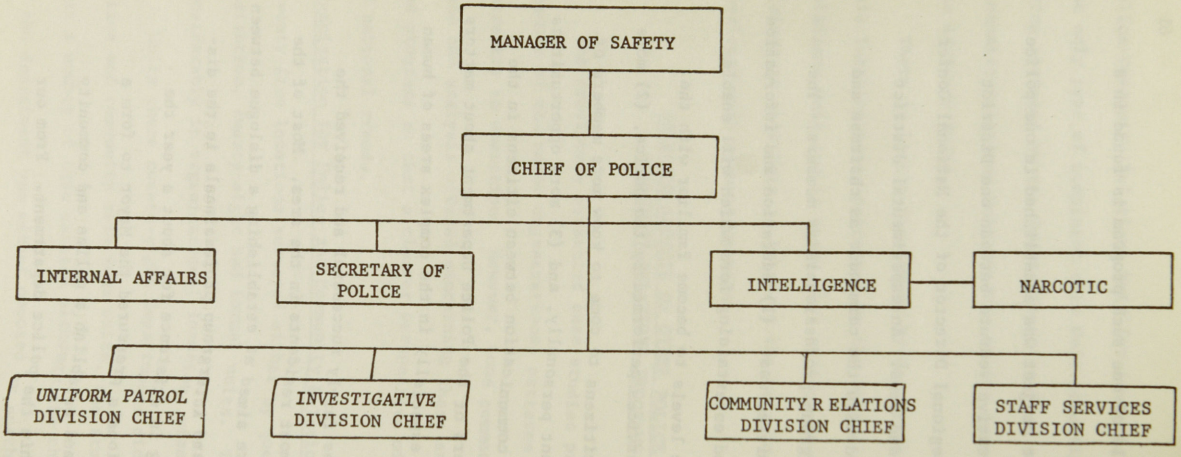

CHART IV

POSITION PLACEMENT OF PCR ACTIVITY IN WESTERN CITY PD

staff's interviews we gained the impression that the department's administration at that time was non-commital regarding the creation of such a unit, the feeling being that there was no need for a special unit as police and community relations was everyone's responsibility in everything they did.

The intergroup relations professionals continued to prod the Mayor for the formation of a unit and submitted as suggested unit director the name of the Commander of the district having the experimental committee. The Mayor, recognizing the necessity for a unit and the political sensitivity of the issue requested the Chief to establish the unit and offered the job of unit director to the district Commander.

The proposed formation of the new unit was announced by the Mayor at a press conference where he stated that a consultant was coming to the City to help plan for the unit. The Chief of Police made no public statements or announcements on the new unit.

When the unit was established it was housed in a city-owned building three blocks from headquarters. The Director of Community Relations was assigned a staff of one Lieutenant, two patrolmen, and a clerk-typist. The two patrolmen were members of minority groups.* The police department said that the new unit was not housed in headquarters because there was insufficient room. This removal

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*One of these officers speaks Spanish.

of the unit from the mainstream of police administrative activity was indicative of department feeling toward the unit.

We found that presently the unit was not well regarded by either the Chief or most department personnel. Much of the feeling of antagonism toward the unit was directed at the Commander because the Chief felt that he was forced into making the appointment.

When we visited the city about 4 months after the formation of the unit, there were no native district committees and the intergroup relations professionals had recently asked the Mayor why none had been formed since the unit had been established, for at that time they were dissatisfied with the progress of the unit. The Community Relations Commander told us that he was unable to formalize his plans because he was waiting for the administration's approval. This is indicative of the lack of communication we found between the Chief and his Community Relations Commander. Because the Deputy Chief was "out" in the eyes of the Chief, the entire community relations program was placed in jeopardy. The relationship was no more apparent than at a meeting between the Chief, Mayor, the Intergroup professionals called to discuss district committee formulation. The Chief of Police failed to invite the Deputy for Community Relations to attend.

This case study points up the lack of effectiveness resulting when top command is reticent in supporting

subordinates in the field. Some of this can be attributed to philosophies akin to that espoused by a Chief in a border city who was the main function of a police and community relations unit to be "fielding" complaints of police brutality from racial minorities by establishing a communication line to leaders of minority groups so that their complaints can be received, investigated, and reported upon. His attitude toward police and community relations in general is that: (1) his door is open at any time and thus anyone with a problem can see him if they are disturbed; (2) everyone on the department is a police and community relations officer in every action they take; and (3) formal programs and units tend to polarize the problem, that is, it tends to draw up sides. Because the Chief is this opposed to programs for these reasons, this city has no organized police and community relations activities department-wide. This attitude can be further exemplified by the statements he made concerning the police and community relations program of another department while serving as a consultant to that city. He said:

> The first thing to do is to establish lines of communication with the knowledgeable leaders of the minority...you don't get to the rabble but it is responsible leaders who frequently are in the forefront of criticism of policemen.

Members of our staff attended a community meeting at which the Chief spoke. It became obvious to us at this meeting the method used by the Chief and his department to

"field" complaints. In fact, any mention of police performance or any misunderstanding of police policies is considered a "complaint". A local bar owner asked the Chief how department officers determine whether a person is drunk or not, as he had seen a man arrested in his bar who he didn't consider drunk. The man never received an answer. The Chief arose, asked the man what specific incident he was referring to, and told him in an aggravated tone that he had his facts all "wrong". Throughout the entire response by the Chief there was no answer which was satisfactory to the man and he quietly sat down rather sorry he had raised the question... which in fact was taken by the Chief to be a complaint. After the man sat down, one of two police officers sitting in the back of the room turned to us and said, "Boy, he really gave it to him! What a Chief we have!" Such an attitude is seriously detrimental to the police and community relationship but there are a number of other considerations.

First, a number of units have come into existence only <u>after</u> a major incident or collective pressure made the establishment of such a unit necessary. The Los Angeles program only took shape after the Watts Riots. In another Western city, a unit was only established after a Negro was shot and killed by an off-duty police officer and things became quite tense. Indeed, in this city the Chief considers the unit "his" and allows it to work on such matters as school programs between calls. He employs it to "put out fires", but has not assigned definite responsibilities to

the group. As a matter of fact, the newly appointed unit commander received his first briefing while a member of the survey team conducted his formal interview. As a result of this action under pressure both police personnel and the public were uncertain as to the administration's sincerity in establishing such a unit.

Second, a number of departments simply felt that they could not afford a formal police and community relations unit. Either budgetary limitations or an expressed feeling that the activity was an unwanted drain upon departmental manpower was offered as the reason why a unit was not established or why the presently existing unit was not expanded.

Finally, many individuals, both policemen and civilians, are uncertain as to the role that such units are supposed to play. Not only is there suspicion at the inception of the unit, but in some cases the very people who are to be served are uninformed. At least part of the blame for this must reside with the police agencies and ultimately with their chief executives. Neither proper support nor recognition is given to the activity. For example, neither the District of Columbia Crime Commission in their Interim Report nor Special Sub-Committees on Police-Community Relations of the Interreligious Committee on Race Relations of Washington, D.C., felt that sufficient support was being given to the department's unit.

The Sub-Committee's findings are particularly pertinent.

> "We found that the P.C.R. Unit has a staff of only five (5) officers, one deputy chief, one inspector and three lieutenants. The Unit is located in an obscure office on the second floor of the Fourth Precinct. The Unit has no clear-cut, concise program of operation and it enjoys very little prestige within the Department itself. We seriously doubt if the general public knows of its existence or how to present a grievance to it when the occasion arises. In short, we found that the Unit is practically a step-child which limits its effectiveness in promoting good police-community relations."

One of the members of the Sub-Committee stated that the Chief "resented" their report and "strongly objected" to their proposals, although their recommendations simply suggested a strengthening of the unit. No unit can be expected to thrive under such circumstances and most do not. The chief executive's support is imperative.

The organizational placement of the unit seemed to have an effect upon its ability to develop support among line officers and upon citizen participation. There are various patterns, some of which we have seen before. Further, in Oakland, the Community Relations Unit is under the supervision of a Deputy Chief for Services and in Los Angeles, there is a split in responsibility between the Deputy Chief in charge of Patrol, the Commander of the Public Information Unit and a Coordinator who has been assigned to the Chief's office, but most recently to the Administrative Bureau.

In many cases there was a lack of support from the line officer and the citizenry. A high ranking officer responsible

for such a program went so far as to indicate that although he has been a police officer for over twenty-five years, many of them in line activities, his friends feel that his present responsibilities are not properly police work.

In another Western city with a well-developed program we found a great deal of antagonism toward the Unit, and the Commander expressed the attitude that many members of the department considered the tasks performed by the Unit as "non-police" and a type of "baby-sitting" service. The Commander on this department is frustrated in his search for means for obtaining greater line involvement in the Unit's activities for without such involvement, the Unit will simply stand out as one activity building community understanding and support while other activities tend to disrupt the support obtained.

On the other hand, where the unit has made a positive effort to build line organizations into its program and made district activities the coordinated responsibility of line commanders, greater success seems to have resulted. The San Francisco and St. Louis programs offer examples of such attempts although both are beset with "line" resistance. Their success has not gone without recognition as both serve as a model for others. Further, the Los Angeles Police Department has under examination a plan which will assign to each division (district) a police-community relations Lieutenant. It is difficult to tell whether this plan will succeed since financial difficulties are presently besetting the program. Buffalo assigns line officers part-time to a "Community Relations Committee" to deal with crises.

Another example of this approach is New York's current effort. It is presently developing Precinct Community Relations Councils based on a well-developed Precinct Youth Council organization. These Youth Councils are voluntary associations of precinct residents and organization representatives who meet regularly with the police to study and act on neighborhood problems affecting youth. In the new program, each precinct will have assigned a police team consisting of a training Sergeant who will keep the line patrolmen informed of the Council's plans and programs and an administrative Lieutenant who will represent the Precinct Commander of the Council and administer the programs on a precinct level. Although the New York program is too recent to be evaluated, it shows great promise. Such a decentralized program directed by a strong administrative coordinator in the Commissioner's office may well overcome the lack of line involvement in police and community relations as well as do much to develop community involvement.

The Use of District Committee. Almost all attempts at community involvement in the larger cities has been through the use of district committees. Although some of these attempts have been successful for a brief period, the tendency has been for participants to loose interest and for the programs to lack any real contact with the masses of population in lower socio-economic neighborhoods.

There are a number of reasons for such failure. In a mid-western city, as was typical of most programs, the s·

of the gatherings precluded the two-way communication. Each program, covering an entire district, was too large for meaningful discussion to occur.

Few people beside community leaders attend and those in attendance are frequently not representative of the community. There is little involvement of the lower line police officer in the workshop and little information about the programs filters down through the ranks from the commanders.

The entire program in this locale is departmentally oriented in that initiative for programs and actions comes from the District Commander. He chooses district steering committee members and usually determines what will be presented at the committee sessions. Thus, the citizen has little voice in the program design. Lacking is an organized means for program accomplishment. The districts have no personnel assigned to carry out programs (with the exception of a "recruitment officer" to recruit new policemen) and this lack of organization precludes effective citizen action.

In another mid-western city out staff attended two district committee meetings, one in a completely white neighborhood and another in a predominately Negro district. The all-white district committee was composed entirely of members who the police considered "responsible"; that is, people who had a "stake in the community". There were no young residents of the district in attendance and the only Negro present, a parole officer, was eyed with great

suspicion throughout the meeting. The meeting consisted of a talk by a police officer on helicopter traffic patrol and a summary by the District Commander of crime conditions in the area. Afterwards the residents were allowed to ask questions of which most were simply statements of support for activities the police had accomplished. About 75 people were in attendance.

The district meeting in the predominately Negro district was slightly different. This committee meeting was the first held since the committee had recently been reorganized. The meeting was spent mostly in a dialogue between police and citizen about police practices. Once or twice it became heated and the police Commander usually became very defensive at this time, but mostly it was a calm discussion of a few issues with subject changes whenever a sensitive issue was raised.

It became evident that the people who attended the meetings were not expressing things which were really on their mind, especially in the Negro district. After the meeting we interviewed a number of those present and they gave us opinions and attitudes completely opposite of those views expressed at the meeting. When asked why they were not frank in discussing the issues at the meeting they said that it "is useless for the police become hostile and (are) not really interested in listening" to their complaints and suggestions. This was indicative of the lack of communication that existed throughout the community relations program

between the community and the police. The formalized program is impressive on paper but in action we found a serious communication blockage. It is difficult to clearly determine the reasons for this blockage but certainly the defensive attitude of the police is a contributing factor and has inhibited the productivity of the district committees. Additionally, selection of committee members is based on those who the police consider "responsible" and our discussion of this issue with top police commanders brought forth a feeling that those people were responsible if they "agreed" with police thinking. This line of thought is a major stumbling block toward community involvement in the program.

The department was terribly defensive about its procedures and mention of specific resentments brought forth an attitude of "you just don't understand". In one committee meeting we observed between police and a citizen's group, when a sensitive issue was raised--stop and search operations--the questions by citizens were met with adamant refusal by the police to discuss the issue.

The department feels it has been successful at getting the "responsible people in the community" to come forth. We think otherwise. The very structure of the district committees excludes the participation of large community segments and an approach which will involve both low level police officers and "grass roots" community members is

needed. Communication channels exist on paper and have been theoretically well developed. Yet, after spending some time in the city it became obvious that these channels were hardly being used.

At the district level there was too little involvement of other agencies in the community relations program. A Negro Committee member mentioned that she felt the police should work more actively with agencies such as the poverty program but she was at a loss to explain why she had never brought this subject up at a meeting.

None of the above is to say that district committees should be discontinued; indeed, they are strongly recommended in the model presented later in this chapter. But what has occurred in many cities has been "exact copying"; that is, because one city has used and developed district committees to some success, other cities feel they must have the exact same program if they are to solve their problems. Nothing could be more harmful to original program development. These departments fail to recognize the tendency of a department to exaggerate program productivity when "showing off" to visiting police officials. Likewise, rapid program implementation simply will not work. If nothing else, it will cause resentment of the program by the district commanders, the feelings of many being summed up by one who said: "The Police and Community Relations Committee is imposed by fiat....you are ordered to have one. It is a rather moribund operation."

In one Eastern city the police commissioner attended a conference at which the desirability of having a police and community relations unit and district committees was discussed. This commissioner was duly impressed with the discussion; so much so that he returned to his city, called in his commanders, and requested a program to be designed within two or three days. The resultant program, since implemented, falls far short of an acceptable enterprise. The department is attempting to establish committees in all police districts at once and far too little attention is being paid to any one project. The program seems doomed to failure before it really is underway because of the intense hurry to establish something concrete.

Such pitfalls must be avoided. The police and community relations program takes time, and establishment of a unit or committees cannot be expected to result in an immediate improvement of the relationship. As each city has problems peculiar to itself, experimentation on a pilot project level is necessary before city-wide programs or committees can be established.

Unit Personnel Selection. With the exception of a very few locations like St. Louis and Chicago (for a period of one year) police and community relations commanders have come from the ranks and are selected according to the same criteria that are utilized in the selection of other police officials. In some cases, the next one on the appropriate

EXHIBIT I

Rank of Individuals Commanding
Police and Community Relations Units

	City	Rank
1.	Tucson, Arizona	Lieutenant
2.	Oakland, California	Lieutenant
3.	San Jose, California	Sergeant
4.	Aurora, Colorado	Sergeant
5.	Jacksonville, Florida	Sergeant
6.	Atlanta, Georgia	Captain
7.	Indianapolis, Indiana	Lieutenant
8.	Boston, Massachusetts	Captain
9.	Detroit, Michigan	Inspector
10.	Syracuse, New York	Sergeant
11.	Winston-Salem, North Carolina	Lieutenant
12.	Kansas City, Kansas	Sergeant
13.	Washington, D.C.	Deputy Chief
14.	Rochester, New York	Deputy Chief
15.	New Orleans, Louisiana	Lieutenant
16.	Pontiac, Michigan	Chief
17.	New York State Police	Director
18.	Nassau County	Deputy Inspector

list is selected, irregardless of his qualifications. In a number of cases the responsibility was assigned to a "light duty" officer and, finally, some assignments were politically motivated. These statements are not meant as a reflection upon the officers selected, but merely to point out that very rarely an appointment is made upon a basis of "this is the best man for the job". Indeed, some of the above-mentioned officers are among the most committed to their jobs, but in far too many cases this is left to chance.

Many of these factors were found by the staff to be present in one large Eastern department where the position of Commander of the Police and Community Relations Unit is filled by appointment by the Police Chief. A distinctive characteristic of past appointments in this city was that the position carried rank to fit the person rather than filling a rank with a specific person. In the early stages of the Unit's development in came to be headed by a Negro Lieutenant who was considered by the Department administration as being well qualified for the position. As this man increased in rank through the normal promotional procedures, he was kept as head of the Unit which concommitently became more important until finally, when the Commander was appointed a Chief Inspector, the Unit was organizationally equal to other major line units, although with a small manpower complement. The Commander, at the time he was a Chief Inspector, died and the second in command of the

Unit, a Captain, was promoted to Deputy Commissioner in charge of Community Relations. It was ruled that the position of Deputy Commissioner had to be assigned on the basis of civil service examinations and when this new Commander was then given the appropriate tests he was unable to pass. He was then reduced to Captain's rank and today the unit is headed by this Captain. The importance given the Unit under the former Chief Inspector has been substantially reduced with this reduction in rank.

In some other cases we found that highly competent personnel at all ranks often just began to perform in their responsibilities and then became eligible for promotion. In its brief existence (10 months) there was a fifty percent personnel turn over in one police and community relations unit, including both of its supervisory officers.

The personnel assigned to the unit are frequently less than the best for the job. A middle-Atlantic city has often assigned patrolmen to this function because they were not successfully performing their regular duties.

One officer interviewed said that in the fourteen years he had been a patrolman he had been known as one who "would rather settle arguments than make arrests", thus his "production" was fairly low. His Sergeants were not fond of him because of his low "productivity" record and they recommended that he be transferred to the Police and Community Relations Unit where he now works. Many of this

department's Sergeants' recommendations for police and community relations officers are based on "production" factors.

In a Michigan city we found they assigned a Negro to the Community Relations Unit who, besides being a poor speaker, was a most ineffective patrolman when assigned to field operations. In the PCR Unit he was considered "out of the way."

One other personnel management problem was quite evident. Requests for transfer were common. Many officers were displeased with assignment to this type of unit. This is to be expected, however, in light of the attitude of the line officer toward this activity. The Commander of a fairly successful unit indicated that this problem had previously existed by stating his pleasure at the fact that officers were now requesting transfers into the unit.

The Police and the Schools. While liaison with public schools was found to be a fairly common activity among the departments surveyed (92% of the departments engaged in some type of this activity), only two departments have police officers assigned full-time to the schools in what has become known as a School Liaison Program. In Flint, Michigan, the first city with such a plan, a private foundation provided money to establish a Regional Counseling Team consisting of, in each secondary school, the principal, dean of students, dean of counseling, school

nurse, principals of elementary schools feeding the junior high school, and a police juvenile officer assigned to the secondary schools full-time. The purpose of the team is to focus on problem children the necessary attention for problem solution.

Each secondary school in the city has a juvenile officer assigned in plain-clothes but with standard equipment (gun, handcuffs, etc.). The officer has no academic responsibility and the department characterized his work as detecting and preventing crime at the onset. He tours the building, speaks to the students, and, in many cases, questions them about possible trouble they have been in. There has been some concern raised about the placement of officers in schools to detect crimes and the issue is a debatable one. Some officers have found the role of police officer combined with a type of social service worker to be confusing.

The Flint program has, however, had a number of worthwhile results. The officers, getting to know both the regular students at the school and those who have dropped out is in a good position to recognize students after school hours. He attends all dances and events of the school and has frequently been able to prevent instances of "dance-crashing" by uninvited guests as he knows most of the youths in the area. The Flint school liaison officers are well accepted by most of the youths and it seemed that the

respect of them increased as the amount of non-criminal contact increased.

A take-off on the liaison program, and one which ought to be considered by other departments, is the St. Louis textbook program outlined in a previous section.

Other programs involving youth have been developed and met with some degree of success. Police Athletic Leagues (PAL) are in operation in such cities as San Francisco and New York providing organized activities in sports for community youth. St. Louis has evolved the "Say Hi!" program previously described, and New York is experimenting with an "Operation Friend" program along the same lines. New York has also developed a comic book describing the policeman's job for distribution to children.

The staff found that some explanations of police activity in pamphlets and text materials used by police in the schools are centered around "violent" apprehension techniques, such as a man running from the police while the officer is getting from his cruiser and drawing his gun. We think that great care must be exercised in portraying the police as a "service" organization utilizing tact and persuasion in criminal apprehensions rather than "violent" apprehension techniques for it is just such techniques which, many times, place the police in an adversary position with minority groups. A good number of high school students we interviewed or spoke to

mentioned the roughness of the police and some specific comments were made on the "free" use of firearms by the police. Whether or not their image is completely justified is not the issue but rather the fact that they have this image of the police should indicate that image reinforcement should be avoided in publications such as pamphlets and textbooks.

Citizen's Councils, Clubs and Foundations. Several cities have established city-wide citizen advisory councils, many of which meet with police officials at regular intervals. These councils must not be confused with "police advisory boards" or other boards concerned with civilian review of police misconduct. They in no way review the actions of the department but rather serve as an advisory body to the police administrator in dealing with community problems. Many police executives have failed to understand the distinction between an advisory council and a review board and thus have condemned them both. One executive told a staff member that he was opposed to the formation of a citizen's advisory committee because he didn't want any civilians telling him what he should be doing. Such attitudes only polarize the differences between police and community and eliminate the possibility of constructive dialogues and commentary such councils can provide.

Most councils currently in existence are made up of a cross-section of community leaders as seen from the police

administrator's viewpoint. Usually minority groups are represented, although almost always in a proportion less than their share of the population. A few cities have established their councils as an "executive board" to the community relations activity in the department. Such councils plan special projects and advise the administrator on the police and community relations activity.

In most cities surveyed having councils we found that membership usually consisted of individuals from the middle or upper socio-economic class and was representative of the "power structure" in the community. In Detroit, for example, there was a council consisting of two judges, a lawyer, four religious leaders, two educators, three social service workers and three industrialists. There was included in this council only one member of the Negro community, while over 35 per cent of the city's population is Negro and the major source of police and community conflict is between the police and the Negro community.

The council, with no official governmental affiliation, was a self constituted public body having no formal connection with the police department. Although it was trying to establish a police and community relations program for that city, the very minority groups whose communication was sought had almost no representation on the council.

Many of the people currently included in councils are those already active in a multitude of community affairs

and thus, their time available for the police activity is limited. This has hindered the productivity of most councils observed.

In some cities there are special "citizen support groups" which evolved from public concern for a particular problem facing the police and community. Usually not formally affiliated with any governmental agency, these special councils or groups support their activities through private donations and grants from business firms, private foundations and individuals. Their major concern is the lack of respect for law enforcement, the adverse publicity given the police, the lack of qualified police applicants, and the low pay scales of municipal departments. One such council was formed by the business community to provide educational assistance to police officers in that city through college tuition grants and to enroll police commanders in various civic and private clubs. Another council, formed by a group of city businessmen, provides financial assistance to families of police officers killed in the line of duty. Each members pays annual dues of $250 which are kept in a treasury.

While usually no overt political activity was found to be connected with membership in these organizations, the opportunity for preferential treatment or special consideration is sometimes present. In one city, for example, a member of a financial assistance council told a staff member,

"I'm a member of the council and they (the police department) will do anything for me". It was also in this city that an officer stopped a council member for speeding in a situation usually resulting in the issuance of a citation. In this instance, none was issued. A later discussion with the officer involved produced the following comment: "How could I give him a citation when he will pay my wife if I'm killed? Let's fact it, (he) deserves a little extra consideration." Most members of these councils received membership cards, many of which had police seals on them. The very fact that this allowed the member to be identified with a special group providing the police with a consequential and valuable service produced undesirable situations of role conflict.

The organizations themselves, while on the surface providing valuable assistance to the police, perform a service far removed from solving the problems which have created the low-status, low-paying police positions. The responsibility for the financial programs and other benefits to police officers should be left to the municipal government. These organizations have great potential in garnering public support for the police so long as there are no expectations of preferential treatment by organization members. Yet, such organizations should not offer direct financial support to police agencies as this properly falls within the realm of municipal service financing and, as such,

is the responsibility of the total community. The energies of these groups should be aimed at gathering public support for police activities and municipal financing of police programs. The financing itself is not their responsibility. Such organizations can be most influential in the community and ought to bring pressure on the total community to accept their responsibilities.

The potential for valuable assistance to the police administrator is present through these councils or clubs but few administrators take advantage of the opportunity for high-level action. The ultimate in lamentable conditions was found by the staff in an eastern city plagued by antiquated civil service, political, and financial systems. The police administrator, aware of the importance of some type of reform, is bewildered as to method of accomplishment. The financial assistance club, composed of powerful businessmen, continues to pay for police misfortunes while the administrator remains unaware of the potential present in this club should he only convene them for a conference and request their support.

Public Information and Public Relations. Public relations has become an important tool to most police administrators. It is used by the police today as a means of improving their public image and often comprises the total police and community relations activity. Public relations, as conceptualized by most administrators we interviewed, is synonymous

with "selling the police, their jobs, their problems and procedures" to the public. It is the police image which they feel is important. Two cities confided that they could solve their conflicts with the community if they could hire a "professional" public relations firm. The prevalent attitude was that the police were doing their job well, but the community, not understanding police problems, had to be "sold" on police practices. Indeed, one border city is an example of a department so successful in "selling" a large portion of the public on certain techniques that little resistance has been met in the utilization of procedures that seriously offend the minority population. The public relations activity in this city was so "successful" that minority populations considered verbal abuse and rudeness as a normal part of "good" police procedure as the department was constantly being hailed nationally as an example of a "well-managed" police agency. The minority population resented this abuse but considered themselves "better off" than people in other jurisdictions. The police promulgated this idea.

Some large departments, have a formal Public Relations Division staffed with professional public relations personnel. They design materials for presentation to the public explaining police activities, problems, and viewpoints. They distribute news stories and maintain some type of working relationship with members of the press. In these departments

our staff found that the most common type of materials distributed to the public concerned methods of criminal operation and explanations of how community and individual action can help in the prevention of crime and apprehension of criminals. Titles of materials range from "How to Protect Your Cargo" to "Tips for Women".

A number of departments, through their Public Relations Divisions, have distributed to the community brochures on local law and citizen's responsibilities. Pamphlets for specific minority groups have been distributed by the New York and Philadelphia police departments in the language of that group, explaining the laws and ordinances of the city.

In one city it is the responsibility of the Public Relations Division to contact civilian complainants and explain to them the outcome of their complaints. This is accomplished by sending a letter to the complainant summarizing the outcome of the investigation. Rarely is information on action taken by the department given.

In sum, the survey team found the public relations activity to be well accepted by most departments. Over 80% of the departments surveyed performed this activity in some formal manner. Yet, there exists confusion among administrators concerning the distinction between public relations and community relations, and this misunderstanding lies behind some of the failures in police and community relationships.

Community relations is the <u>two-way</u> communication process focusing community resources on problem solving.

It involves a recognition of two viewpoints, that of the police and that of the community. Public relations, on the other hand, is basically a one-way communication process aimed at gathering support for police procedures and informing the public of department activities. We have found that if distrust among segments of the public is prevalent, the public relations activity will do little to garner public support.

The study has brought forth three issues having a direct effect on the police and community relationship. First, the public relations activity is but one means of improving the police and community relationship, but must not be considered an end in itself. If the police are alienated from a segment of the population, failing to listen to that segment's ideas will allow deep-rooted conflicts to smoulder. Where the public relations activity becomes an end in itself the department runs the risk of falling victim to "image preoccupation" wherin they emphasize "looking good" rather than "being good".

Secondly, the public information materials distributed to the citizen must be of a type which will be understood by those the police are trying to reach. The fancy brochure in upper-class language and format will be incomprehensible in the poorer neighborhoods. Likewise, the formal letter on official department stationery informing an unemployed laborer of the results of his complaint will be viewed as

another example of the police bureaucracy, considered impenetrable by the average citizen.

Third, public relations must be considered but one part of the total community relations program. We recognize that the public relations function is of the utmost importance to police agencies and can serve valuable purposes, but a wider, more comprehensive program is necessary if community conflicts and tensions are to be reduced. The citizens who distrust the police, who consider the police as their enemy, and who have no respect for the agency, will simply not believe police claims of professional competence. The police must recognize that "professional" competence itself can lead to serious breaches in the police and community relationship unless strong efforts are made at every level of operation to serve all community segments. Where professionalism becomes extreme and the agency is guided by dictates from a "higher authority", local frustration and conflict with the police (and other governmental) bureaucracy will increase.

Speakers Bureaus. Because of the unusual nature of their task, the police are frequently asked to provide speakers to civic groups in the community. Over 95% of the departments surveyed are involved in some activity of this type. Where there exists a community relations unit or a public information unit within the department, such speakers are usually arranged by these units. The topics for speakers range from narcotics to traffic control and are of such a

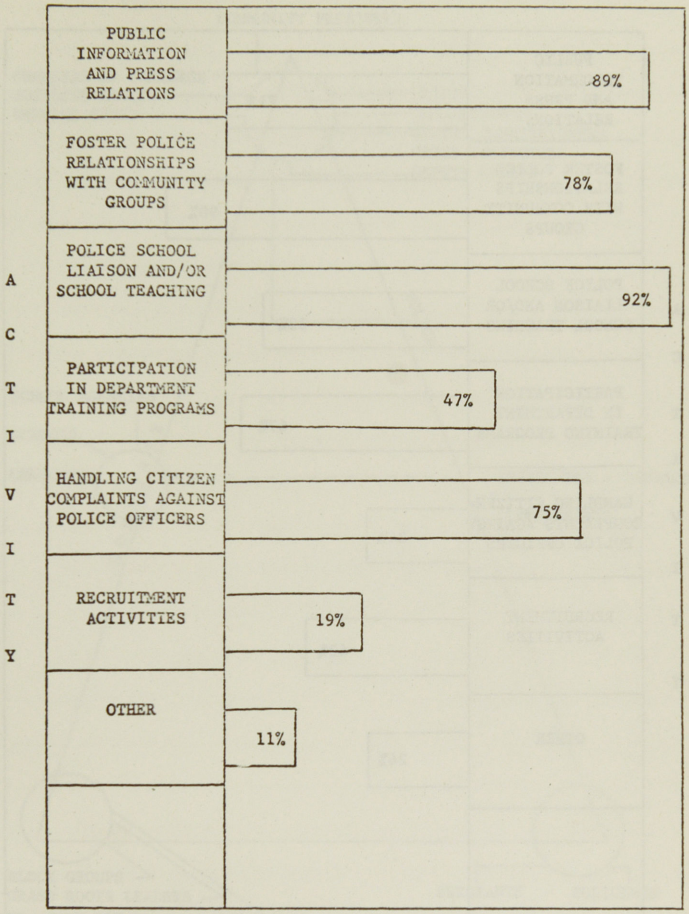
nature that they will captivate the audience. Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Oakland, and New York, among others, have extensive publications listing the topics available for presentation at community group meetings. We found the range of speakers to be diverse in both quality of presentation and appearance. Larger departments, such as New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, where there is a large pool of personnel from which to draw speakers, tend to have better speakers but it was found in many agencies that the officer is not always compatible with the organization or group before which he was to speak. For example, in one mid-Western city, at a speech before a professional group, the speaker was not aware of the culture of such a group and, hence, spoke on a level far removed from that to which the group was accustomed, could respect, and comprehend. Topics chosen to speak on are rarely controversial in nature and the speech is usually aimed at gathering support for the police in the performance of their activities. There were, of course, some notable exceptions, but this is rare as the police understandably disliked becoming involved in community controversy.

General Community Relations Programming. According to the survey those departments that have a formal police and community relations unit are more involved in programs dealing directly with community groups and organizations. Those departments which do not have a formal unit tend to restrict their activities to public relations programs. By

far the most common activity of special police and community relations units is the fostering of police relationships with community groups. The overall tendency has been the creation of a unit to work with these groups and provide a channel of communication for both sides. (See Tables I and II.)

Few of the programs that have attempted to reach the "grass roots" level of the community have succeeded, with the program in San Francisco coming closest to this accomplishment. In most departments having units or programs, the alienation of the middle department command has thwarted many of their efforts.

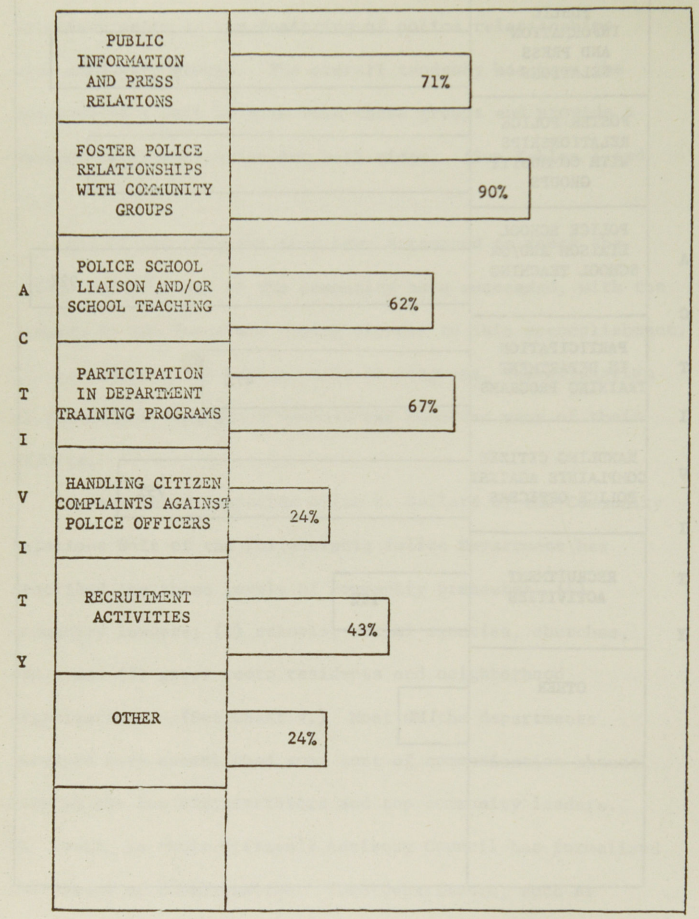
Former Chief Inspector Allen B. Ballard of the Community Relations Unit of the Philadelphia Police Department has described the three levels of community pressure: (1) community leaders; (2) schools, social agencies, churches, etc.; and (3) grass roots residents and neighborhood organizations. (See Chart V.) Most of the departments surveyed have established some sort of communication channel between the top administrators and top community leaders. St. Louis, in their Citizen's Advisory Council has formalized this level of communication. Some departments, such as Oakland (through the Associated Agencies) and Flint (through the Regional Counseling Team), have established good lines of communication at the middle level with community service agencies. Few, if any, departments have been truly successful in establishing communications channels at the bottom or



N=31

PER CENT OF DEPARTMENTS HAVING NO POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS UNIT ENGAGED IN SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES

TABLE I



N=28

PERCENT OF DEPARTMENTS HAVING POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS UNIT ENGAGED IN SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES

TABLE II

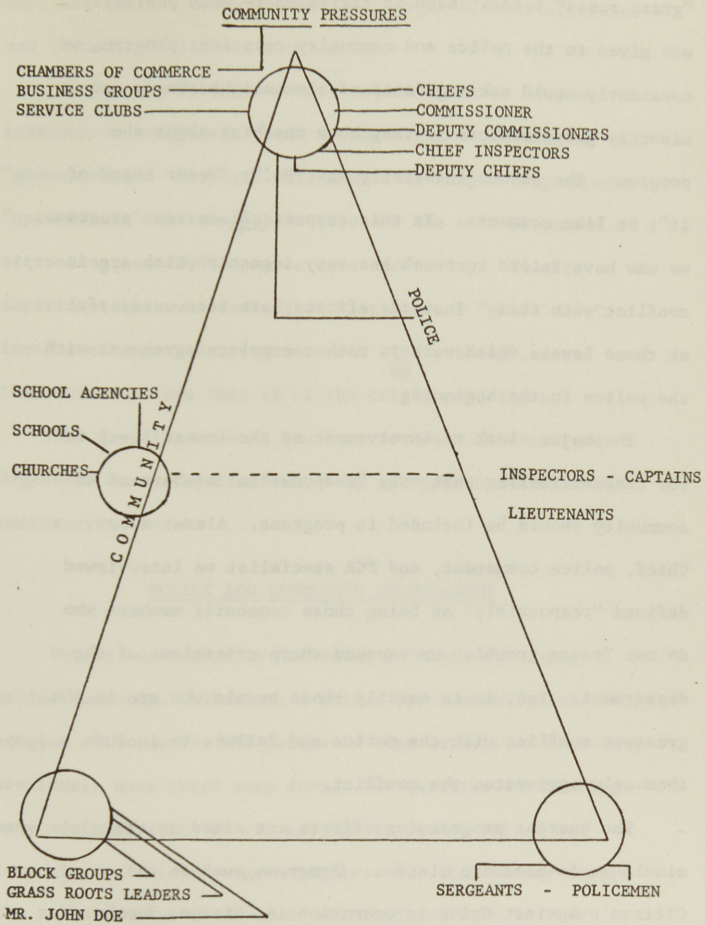

COMMUNITY PRESSURES
CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE
BUSINESS GROUPS
SERVICE CLUBS
CHIEFS
COMMISSIONER
DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS
CHIEF INSPECTORS
DEPUTY CHIEFS
POLICE
SCHOOL AGENCIES
SCHOOLS
CHURCHES
COMMUNITY
INSPECTORS - CAPTAINS
LIEUTENANTS
BLOCK GROUPS
GRASS ROOTS LEADERS
MR. JOHN DOE
SERGEANTS - POLICEMEN

CHART V

"grass roots" level. Even in cities where much publicity was given to the police and community relations program, we constantly would ask residents of slum neighborhoods and minority group members if they knew anything about the program. The answer invariably was "No!"; "Never heard of it"; or like comments. In this respect all current programs we saw have failed to reach the very segments which are in conflict with them. Instead, efforts have been successful at those levels which were in rather complete agreement with the police in the beginning.

The major block to involvement at the lowest level is the current feeling that only "responsible" members of the community should be included in programs. Almost every Chief, police commander, and PCR specialist we interviewed defined "responsible" as being those community members who do not "cause trouble" or expound sharp criticisms of the department. Yet, it is exactly those people who are in the greatest conflict with the police and failure to include them only aggravates the conflict.

The current programming efforts are aimed at the middle socio-economic classes. Programs such as the Citizen's Against Crime in operation in Chicago, Topeka, San Antonio, Flint and St. Louis, among others, have little success in reaching the residents of minority neighborhoods. Extensive publications have likewise little effect in these areas. In essence, the people mostly involved in community

conflict are not being reached by current efforts at police and community relations programming.

The survey team found that police agencies have a tendency to exaggerate their accomplishment in reaching the "grass roots". One city with a well-developed program of "open-houses" for the public espoused the accomplishment of attracting over 2,000 people on a recent day. To this department this was indicative of the great "grass root" involvement of their program. Our staff, though, noted that this was less than 1% of the city's population.

The question becomes how best to reach them and the degree of community involvement by the police and citizens necessary to do so.

POLICE AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Police and Community Relations involves all types of police activity. Likewise, a police and community relations program will involve the police in some activities that they previously have shied away from. The question confronting many administrators in the initial stages of police and community relations programming is: "To what extent should the police become involved in community affairs?" There is no simple answer and in many jurisdictions it will lie in the strengths and weaknesses of other city agencies.

There have arisen two polar positions on this issue. The "traditional" police view, expressed by many administrators that we interviewed, was that the police should confine

themselves to "law enforcement matters" only. Such a concept places the emphasis on criminal apprehension with crime prevention a side effect rather than a goal.

The opposing view stresses police involvement in community affairs to the degree necessary for the maintenance of a peaceable community. This attitude places the emphasis on crime prevention, with criminal apprehension being important only when the crime prevention activity has failed or has had little effect on the crime in question. The "traditional" view expressed by most departments visited was that the police should restrict themselves to enforcing the law; the "social work" aspects of deviant behavior being the responsibility of other agencies. The results of our mail questionnaire to police departments throughout the country supported the contention that police feel they have very limited responsibility in dealing with crime causal factors. On the other hand, the same departments listed "crime prevention" high on the list of police goals. Prevention, to the police, seems to be a result of rigorous enforcement, application of patrol, and other techniques to eliminate the physical opportunity for the commission of the criminal act. Most current efforts at police and community relations stress the enforcement concept and their programs are aimed at obtaining public support and help for these enforcement activities.

The police, as agents of government responsible to the community, must be responsive to community needs. A majority

of the public must support the actions of the police as the ratio of police to public is very small. The police are but one agency within the framework of the administration of justice. They are neither primarily prosecutorial, judicial, nor correctional in nature, but rather agents of government who maintain social order by protecting the individual's rights in our free society. They are responsible for the identification of deviants from the legal code and referral of these deviants to other agencies, both within and outside the framework of the administration of justice. Their major concern is crime. They are expected to control it and, in essence, are the "front-line" defense of a citizen's right to live in a peaceable and secure community. They are not solely responsible for crime, although frequently identified as having that responsibility. Rather, the community at large has the complete responsibility for conditions which breed crime and deviance with the police being placed in a position having community expectations of crime reduction. If they fail to do so they place the "blame" for a rising crime rate on extra-community influences, such as court decisions adverse to current police thought. This attitude reinforces the police conception of themselves as the only defense of citizens against crime and propagates this belief within the community.

The repression of crime, for years the traditional police goal, can no longer successfully maintain social

control in an urban society where the police have become alienated from major segments of the community. Vigorous repression, if carried out in a manner offensive to large portions of the population, will increase rather than reduce community tensions. It was clear in our studies that those departments exercising extreme aggressive repression as the major technique of crime control suffer the most serious breaches in the police and the community relationship. No matter how effective a procedure or technique is in controlling a specific criminal act, if the community finds that action repulsive they will fail to support the police. Citizens will become tense at the approach of an officer, in effect saying: "If they treat others that way, how will they treat me?" The police, on the other hand, operate in such a manner that meets their expectation of "client" response. These mutual expectations result in widening conflict and distrust on both sides.

Police efforts must be directed toward focusing the resources of the community on the prevention of crime. If the community is actively engaged in crime control and prevention and <u>if the people feel they are a part of the police activity</u>, they will feel a responsibility for crime conditions. Joseph T. Kluchesky, retired Chief of Police in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, discussed the issue well in an address before the 52nd IACP Conference in 1945 when he said:

> "The best possible way of dealing with disorders is to prevent them, and most of our efforts must be in the interests of prevention. Much has been written on the various ways of dealing with group disorders, but we cannot escape the fact that prevention is still far more desirable than any number of cures."

Crime is a police problem only insofar as the police are considered the "front-line" agency responsible for its immediate containment; yet, frequently the police accept the perilous attitude that they are the only agency concerned with crime control. This usually results in alienation of the police from other agencies and a lack of awareness by the police as to community desires and problems.

Community involvement is necessary if the police are to carry out their primary responsibility of crime control with a minimum of community dissension. A coordinated effort by all agencies having a concern with the crime problem and all community members is necessary. Undoubtedly, there will be instances of role-conflict arising in coordinated efforts. We found great distrust, for example, between social workers and the police. The conflict seemingly has grown out of a misunderstanding of the relationships each group has with their clientele. One example is the confidential relationship between social worker and client. It was not uncommon to see instances where the social worker was aware of criminal activity of community members. It was difficult for the police to understand this relationship

although they had relationships much the same when dealing with informants. Both groups theoretically have basically the same goal but their methods are divergent. Efforts must be made to coordinate means toward goal accomplishment. This will require an understanding of each agency's role, method of operation, and worker-client relationship. Currently, in most cities visited, differing expectations of role performance thwart efforts of inter-agency cooperation, as can be seen from this quotation appearing in a recent police department publication:

> Question (Citizen): What facilities do we have for receiving young adults from the age of 18 years and up?....
>
> Answer (Police Captain): I do not know of any such agencies offhand because I am not a social worker; I am a police officer and must stick to my field. (Underline ours.)

Each agency has a role in the maintenance of social control under law and the respective roles must be understood by all. It is not proposed that the police act as social workers or probation officers, but the police must recognize that they are one of the only agencies open twenty-four hours a day and available to all. If they understand the role of other agencies and have well-developed communication channels they can be of immense help to these other agencies in reaching societal tranquility. The concept of community involvement, simply stated, visualizes the police working with the community toward erasing the roots of social ills rather than becoming an entity to itself and operating with little concern for community needs and desires.

Programming for Police and Community Relations. The key to good police and community relations is found in tension and conflict control. Crime can be viewed as conflict because the deviant's behavior is in conflict with societal normative behavior. Yet, crime is but one type of conflict with which the police must deal; the other types are: 1) community group conflict where a group is in conflict with others (although not legally deviant); and 2) conflict between the police and the community where the police, because of their procedures or goals, are precipitators of tense situations.

When it is stated that there is a desire to establish a good police and community relationship, the objective is a relationship free of conflict and tension, Likewise, when speaking of the maintenance of a peaceable and assure community we are trying to evolve a community free of tensions and conflict between people and groups. This is the broad goal. The police and community relations program is a means of working toward that ideal-type community atmosphere. In previous sections of this chapter some of the problems inherent in present police and community relations programming were enumerated. The basic assumptions of good police and community relations programming is set forth below.

1. The police commitment toward bettering the police and community relationship must be formalized by the depart-

ment and promulgated throughout the community. Citizens must be informed that the police are aware that problems exist and intend to take steps toward working out these problems with the help of the community. The commitment must include the total involvement of the police department toward bettering the relationship through the concept of community responsibility and equal protection of all persons under the law. It must include a recognition that means are as important as ends; that is, how the police goal is accomplished is as important as the accomplishment of the goal itself. A major tension and conflict producing factor in the police and community relationship today is the manner in which police officers dealt with citizens in carrying out department procedures. Our study found that many police procedures, although sound and valid operations, were repugnant to citizens because of the manner in which they were used. The politeness, poise, empathy, and self-control exercised by individual police officers will determine the general state of the police and community relationship. The commitment must be toward development of a police department operating as an integral part of the community, responsive to citizens, and treating all individuals with respect and dignity. Lacking this commitment, no successful program can be undertaken.

2. Communication channels must be established between

the police and the community which are availabe to all citizens.

High level channels, are not enough. The problem of conflict is within the lower strata of the community. The communication channels must include a means for the smallest and least powerful citizen to be heard, and must not be superficial in nature but rather directed at focusing community concern, attitudes, and opinions on community problems.

3. The program undertaken by the department to reduce conflict and tension in the community must utilize the resources of the entire community.

Special attention must be given to those community segments which are not in complete agreement or support of the police. The police must be willing to talk to every person who has something to say. The basis for acceptability for involvement in coordinating councils should be the ability of the person to influence other members of the community rather than agreement with police attitudes and operations.

4. The program must utilize those means which will reach community segments not accessible through normal channels, even if this should necessitate diverting the police role in new directions.

The success attained in San Francisco shows that the department should be willing to experiment with new programs and untraditional approaches to community problem solving.

The police and community relations program must be designed with these four goals in mind. Yet, even more

important, these goals must permeate each and every action taken by the police. The basic ideals of a sound police and community relations program were well summed up in a recent report on the New York Police Department:

> "Community relations is not a part-time task of the Police Department, or a mere postscript to its traditional work. We believe that community relations is essential to all law enforcement and therefore an integral part of all police work. Improving community relations is a full-time assignment of each man on the force. We see no easy solution to police-community tensions and misunderstandings. No single procedure or program can establish and sustain healthy community relations. This can only be achieved by inculcating an attitude - a tone - throughout the force that will help facilitate a creative rapport with the public."[7]

This report on law enforcement in New York summarily discussed the police and community relations commitment as follows:

> "Good police-community relations are fundamental both to law enforcement and to respect for law. Police time spent in furthering good relations may be justified, even if it does not contribute directly to law enforcement. On the other hand, duties that tend to alienate the police from the community are particularly suspect, particularly duties which involve them in the tolerance of widespread, flagrant disrespect for law..."

After reviewing the current programs in operation, a working model can be drawn which utilizes seven elements,

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[7]See Report to Mayor-Elect John V. Lindsay, by the Law Enforcement Task Force, New York, 1965.

each possessing some independent value but unable to effectively improve the police and community relationship alone. However, if they are combined into a coordinated and comprehensive effort they should have a significant impact on the relationship. The seven elements are:

1. The Advisory Council as is found in St. Louis. Their program has shown the value of a high level of community leaders to plan the community relations activity.[8]

2. The establishment of a police and community relations unit directly responsible to the Chief as found in San Francisco. The ability of the San Francisco unit to focus immediate attention through the Chief on conflict situations has been impressive.

3. The incorporation of a public information unit, of the type found in Chicago, into the police and community relations unit. The professional staff there has produced many quality materials for informing the public of programs and problems.

4. The identification of tension and conflicts as done by the Human Relations Section in Chicago but on a broader base. The Chicago unit utilized many means of obtaining information on conflicts.

5. The design of original programs for tension and conflict reduction as found in San Francisco, and, to a lesser degree, in New York and St. Louis.

6. The development of a district committee organization of the San Francisco format with neighborhood meetings patterned after the Chicago workshops. The former has had good success in reaching the "grass roots of the community" and the latter is a valid basis for productive discussion on a small scale.

[8]Cincinnati has such an advisory committee but on an ad hoc basis.

7. The assignment of a District Community Relations Coordinator of command rank to each district, as in New York.

The following sections of this chapter elaborate upon these factors molding them into a model program. It is, however, only a guide consisting of the elements necessary for successful police and community involvement. Each department should view the model in light of its own needs, but while extensive organization may not be required, each aspect of the program should be included if only in a modified way.

Choosing the Advisory Council. Once the department has made the commitment to the above goals and decides to go ahead with a police and community relations program it should choose a Citizen's Advisory Council. The formation of a Council is the first step in community relations programming. It brings about citizen participation in the initial planning stage and opens communication channels at the highest level. The advisory council can be a valuable asset to the administrator if he recognizes the functions and limitations of them. He must be aware that an advisory council is an entity over which he will have little actual control. Appointment of advisory councils involve risks and the administrator must recognize this point. He is inviting outsiders into the organization and, no matter how friendly

they might be, there will be disagreements. These must occur if effective programs are to be developed. By appointing a council the administrator is asking for advice and he will have to recognize that this advice must be seriously considered. He can reject such advice for a period of time; after constant rejection he can expect a reaction from the council. The main point, therefore, is that although our staff feels an advisory council is a necessity for a successful police and community relations program, police administrators must be willing to listen, evaluate advice, and accept reasonable proposals.

The selection of a Council is not an easy task but the effort expended by the Chief in selection will have a direct relationship to the productivity of the program. This is the initial stage where involvement of dissident community segments is of the utmost importance in designing a workable plan. Untiring efforts should be taken in securing representation of <u>all</u> community segments. Each of the following questions should be affirmatively answered by the administrator in choosing the Council:

1. Who is representative of each major subgroup in the community? (The object is to list these persons influential in <u>each</u> of the following types of groups: business, labor, religious, educational, social welfare, judicial, correctional, minority, geographical, etc.)

2. Are those groups included who are in conflict or tension with other groups or the police?

3. Are these representatives aware of the problems faced by their groups? (A representative of a group is not necessarily aware of the problems of that group. It is desirable to choose persons who, besides being a "member" of a group, have a keen understanding of group thoughts and problems. Likewise, they should be accepted by a majority of the group they represent.)

4. Is a representative of the chief city administrator included as a representative of the governmental group?

5. Are these people able and willing to spend the time necessary in the development of a meaningful police and community relations program?

The answers to those questions will be the key as to whether the police and community relations program will have any chance of goal accomplishment.

Invitation to become a member of the Council should come personally from the Chief. Letters or other forms of written communication should not be employed. In the larger departments the Chief should assign reliable assistants to make the first contact to determine whether the prospective individual is willing and able to serve. A list of thirty or so names should be prepared and the Chief should choose from these the Council membership. The final selection should be made so that each geographical section of the city is represented. If the city has District Station Houses, one member should be included from each District; if a small city, each neighborhood should have representation. This is to ensure the basis of representation from the District Citizen's Committees discussed in a

later section of this chapter. The Council should number no more than fifteen members to facilitate small group discussion. Larger Councils have a tendency to thwart participation by some members.

The first meeting of the Council should take place in the Chief's office at a time acceptable to all members. This might well mean a night meeting if it is the only convenient time. The meeting should be closed to the press although statements should be issued at its conclusion.

The first order of business should be the selection of a Council Chairman. He should be an individual other than the Chief of Police to avoid charges of police control over Council activities.

At this meeting the Council should seek to identify problem areas. This is the first step in problem solving and tension reduction and each member should identify what he feels the problems are. The Chief should be careful not to become defensive as each issue is raised. This meeting should accomplish little more than develop a working relationship between Council members. If the Chief acts defensively to each item discussed, future discussion of issues will be impeded and certain Council members will be hesitant to bring up conflict points.

This objective of the first meeting is nothing more than problem identification and the explanation of the

reasons why the Council was formed. Each Council member should recognize that from this stage on there is no programmed format which must be followed. The Chief should understand that the concern at this stage of the program is with problem identification. He must not attempt a justification of police procedures found to be objectionable to certain community members, rather he should take the attitude that he must recognize and admit that certain conflict points exist between the community and the police. Whether or not, for example, a certain police procedure to which citizens object is a sound and basic police operation is not of concern at this stage. What is of concern is that a procedure offends a community segment.

The second step to be taken by the Council is the discussion of the means by which conflict and tensions can be reduced. Thus, if a procedure is found to be objectionable, the Council should discuss ways of accomplishing that same police goal in a less offensive manner. They should attempt to discover the causal factors of tension and conflict so the department can work on that cause - crime, tension, and conflict prevention - rather than, as a long-term objective, simple repression.

With the approval of the Council, an announcement of the formation of the Police and Community Relations Council should be made by the Chief of Police so that the community

will be aware of the proposed program. Internally, the entire department should be informed of the projected goals and how each member of the organization will fit into the overall picture. It is of the greatest importance to stress the "total involvement" of the department for without this understanding the entire effort at improving the police and community relationship will be left to the Council, special unit, or coordinator named by the Chief to deal in this area. This is obviously unacceptable. This internal explanation is imperative and should take the form of a firm policy statement.

Department size is of little importance in the formation of the Police and Community Relations Council noted above, but it does have a significant impact on the development of the program to be carried out. The basic goals and functions to be performed are the same for all departments. What will differ between departments is the manpower commitment assigned to carry out special types of programs developed by the Council. Small departments not having sufficient manpower to assign full-time to program implementation should identify those officers who have special talents and use them as necessary by detaching them from their present assignment. When the program implementation is accomplished, they can be reassigned to their original duties.

The Organizational Format for Program Implementation. While the Council serves as an advisory body to assist with tension

and conflict identification and community relations programming, the department must become involved in a number of supplementary activities. There are three major organizational police and community relations functions to be performed; 1) community tension identification; 2) community relations programming; and 3) public information. The sum of these activities is the department community relations program. Each is dependent upon the other two for success.

At the same time the Citizen's Council is being formed, the Chief should assign responsibility for the coordination of the department's police and community relations activities to one officer. In the smallest departments this responsibility will fall directly on the Chief, in medium sized departments it can fall to an Assistant Chief or Administrative Assistant, and in the larger departments a special unit should be created which will have responsibility for coordination of all city-wide programs.

The qualifications for this position will vary with each department but some broad guidelines can be set. The major qualification for this position is the ability of the appointee to get the job done, that is, he must be the very best man available for directing the performance of the three community relations functions. The position must not be filled with the man who is most readily available. In any case the appointee should have the following traits:

1. He should have a thorough knowledge of the history of the social development of the city.

2. He should be familiar with minority group problems and attitudes.

3. He should be familiar with the police culture, policies, and procedures.

4. He should have a working knowledge of the functions of governmental agencies operating in the city.

5. He should be able to get along well with persons who have attitudes antagonistic to the police.

It is imperative that the appointee be acceptable to those minority groups in most conflict with the police and others. If, for example, most of the community tension and conflict occurs within a Negro neighborhood there should be no hesitancy about assigning a Negro to this position, in fact, it well might be the best move. The most important criteria for appointment must be the ability of the person to accomplish the department community relations goals.

Rank should not be a factor in the selection process. The position of the Director of Police and Community Relations, as the unit head should be designated, should be "exempt" and filled by assignment. It should carry the authority commensurate with its great responsibility. The appointee need not be a sworn member of the department. Larger departments will do well to consider civilians with training in the behavioral fields.

The Director of Community Relations should be responsible to the Chief of Police. Because the community relations

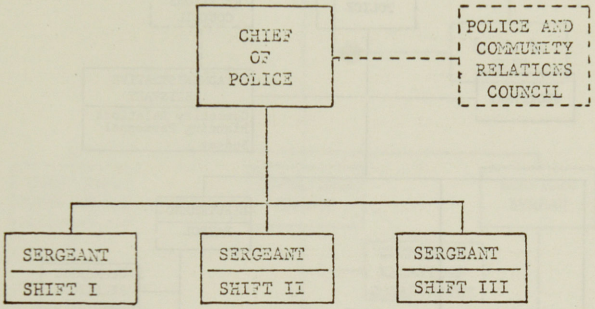
activity permeates every level and branch of the department, its direction must come from the highest levels of organizational structure. In community relations programming activities we are dealing with community conflict, that is, tensions of such importance that they constantly shape and reshape departmental policy.

In larger departments the establishment of the special Community Relations Unit will be necessary. It is imperative that the unit be placed in the Office of the Chief or there is the danger that total involvement of department personnel will not be obtained. (SEE CHARTS VIa - VId)

The Community Relations Unit should perform three major functions, each having a programming and general coordination responsibility. Although large departments will find it desirable to have three separate sections to perform this work under the coordination and direction of the Director of Community Relations, of greater importance is the fact that these activities are performed. Again department size is a controlling factor here. The very small department might have the Chief or Assistant Chief performing these activities; the medium-sized department one specialist (in which case he would be the Director); and the large department would have specific sections under the Police and Community Relations Unit. (SEE CHART VII)

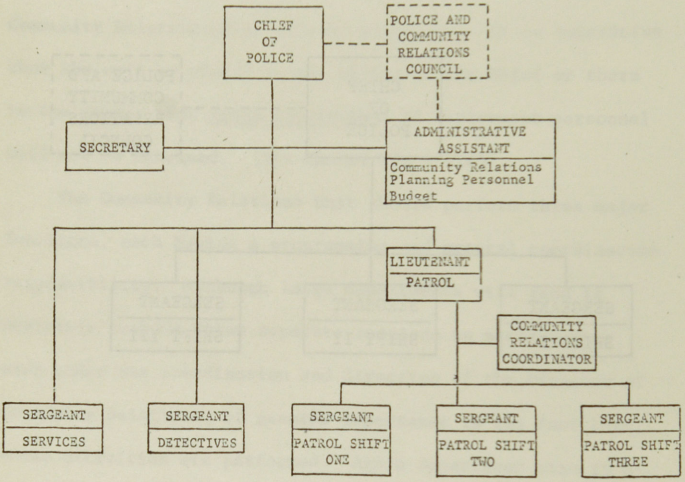
The "unit" established for police and community relations is for coordination only. Although some city-wide activities

CHART VIa



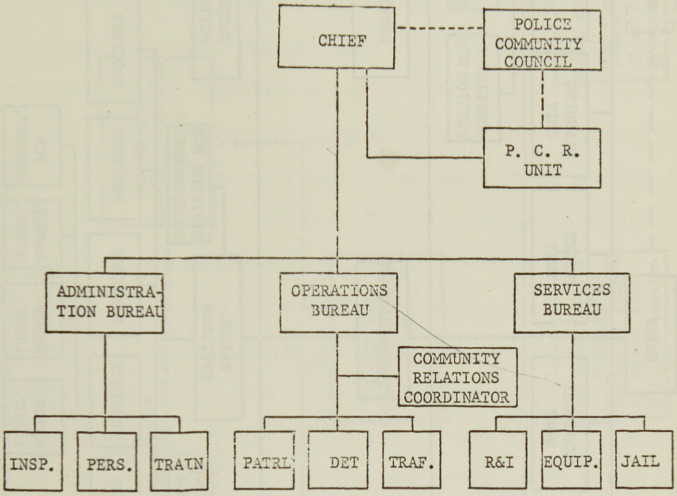
ORGANIZATIONAL PLACEMENT OF POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS ACTIVITY
SMALL SIZED DEPARTMENT

CHART VIb



ORGANIZATIONAL PLACEMENT OF POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS ACTIVITY
MEDIUM-SIZED DEPARTMENT

CHART VIc



ORGANIZATIONAL PLACEMENT OF
POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS UNIT
LARGE CITY DEPARTMENT

ORGANIZATIONAL PLACEMENT OF
POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS UNIT
METROPOLITAN DEPARTMENT

CHART VId

POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS UNIT

FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION CHART

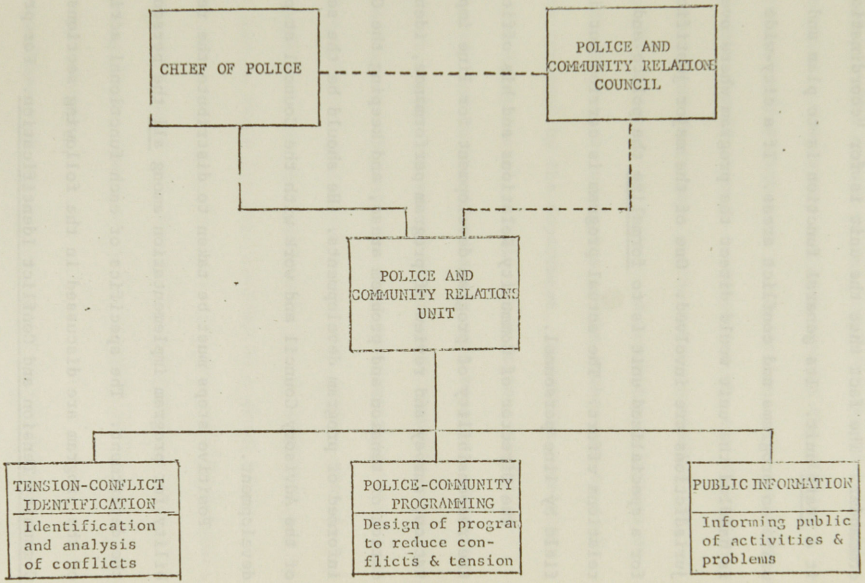

CHIEF OF POLICE
POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL
POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS UNIT
TENSION-CONFLICT IDENTIFICATION
Identification and analysis of conflicts
POLICE-COMMUNITY PROGRAMMING
Design of progra to reduce con-flicts & tension
PUBLIC INFORMATION
Informing public of activities & problems

CHART VII

should be performed, with the exception of public information, these activities should be performed at the line level with the responsibility for the performance falling on each line commander. The fact that the unit is for "coordination" makes it a staff unit. Its general function is to plan and advise units on programs and conflict areas. If a city-wide problem is handled the unit would direct the program where overlapping jurisdictions are involved. One of the major justifications for a specialized unit is to formalize the police and community relations effort. The actual program is carried out in the field by line personnel.

The Director of Community Relations and his office has the responsibility of program development for line implementation, survey and review of program performance, identification of tension and problem areas, and keeping the Chief informed of program developments. He should be the secretary of the Advisory Council and work with the Council at program development.

Positive steps must be taken to distribute the responsibility for program implementation among all the personnel of the department. The specifics of each functional activity of the program are discussed in the following sections.

Community Tension and Conflict Identification. For problems in the police and community relationship to be solved they must first be identified. The responsibility for such identification of tension and conflict points on a city-wide

basis rests with the Director of Community Relations and his office. One of the best indicators of conflict readily available to the police is the citizen complaint against a police officer. The nature of the complaint should indicate a tension point. Complaints are made because the citizen has been dissatisfied with some police action. The community relations unit should attempt to determine why the dissatisfaction exists and what steps can be taken to resolve the conflict. The Director of Police and Community Relations or his unit should receive summaries of the number and type of complaints received by the department. Sensitive complaints or those involving racial, ethnic, or religious conflicts should be referred to him immediately upon receipt. Priority for complaint evaluation should be given to recurring complaints whether or not they have been substantiated. An unfounded complaint, tension-wise, is more serious than a founded complaint, for the complainant who is told that his complaint has no basis for fact remains in a state of conflict with the police organization. In most cases he believes his complaint is valid and this can be indicative of misunderstanding in the community as to the role of the police and their procedures.

A second means of tension and conflict identification is through the attitude survey. It is recommended that the unit employ the services of a competent sociologist or social psychologist experienced in attitude surveys to conduct such

studies at regular intervals as a measure of community attitudes. Such surveys can be of great value in identifying problem areas if they are properly constructed and carried out in a manner not offensive to the community. This is but one way in which the university facilities in the area might be utilized and the staff should frequently consult with university staff in determining how the resources of educational institutions can be used toward bettering the police and community relationship. The police would be wise to consider themselves as a testing ground for theories developed in the university through reliable and valid research. The attitude survey, as one example, can provide the police with an indicator of tension areas if it is done on a regular basis. It is important that such staff, whether hired in a consulting capacity or full-time, get out on the street and speak to the citizens, both those who support the police and those who do not support the police, for their observations can be of real value in identifying tension points.

One of the major cogs in the detention of conflict and tension should be the line officer. Each member of the force should watch for tension activities of demogogic groups, overt expressions of racial, ethnic, or religious hostilities, and the speed of rumor circulation. All such symptoms should promptly be reported to the Director. The officer on the street in daily contact with the community has the best vantage point from which to discover problem areas.

The activity of tension and conflict identification is little more than increasing police awareness of potential trouble spots. The identification should include an analysis of possible causes of the tension. There should be no reluctance to be frank in pinpointing aggravating circumstances, but the purpose of such analysis ought not to be the placement of "blame" on police or citizens, rather, to illuminate the problem so that plans can be made to correct it.

Community Relations Programming. Once the tension and conflict have been identified - and this should be a continuing process - programs should be developed which will reduce the same. The success of each program depends upon the ingenuity of the department.

Community and relations programming demands that consideration be given to the many cultural factors in the community, such as minority group composition and language barriers. The purpose of the programming is to resolve or reduce the conflict. This programming is by far the most extensive operation within the community relations unit, and it becomes imperative that the programming be designed to reach the community level for which it is intended: that socio-economic ethnic group which is involved in the conflict situation.

The staff performing this function should include trained sociologists, social psychologists and other human behavior specialists if the department is large enough to

allow their full-time employment. If not, they should be hired on a consulting basis. The major function of the community relations programming activity is to evolve ways of reducing interpersonal conflict especially (but not limited to) ethnic, racial, or religious tensions. The activity must include the analysis of problems and conflicts which involve the individual police officer and the individual citizen and the programming methods which reduce such tension in interpersonal relations.

One type of program essential to the improvement of the police and community relationship is the Citizen Committee at the district level. The number of committees will be dependent upon the size and makeup of the city and each committee should represent one or two compatible neighborhoods. Thus, the smaller community, fairly homogeneous in nature, might develop only one committee; the larger medium sized city, although having but one central police station, might have a few committees; and the large city, with district stations might have one committee for each district station. Where there are district stations in operation, it is recommended that committees represent no more than a single district and that no committee overlap district boundaries

in representation. The Citizen's Committee is a group of citizens living or working in the area in question and concerned about police and community problems. It is a necessary and worthwhile tool to obtain citizen participation in solving the problems confronting the community in which the police have an interest, but must be developed so that it involves those citizens who are a part of the conflict situation.

To form the District Citizen's Committee, (and it is advisable to form one committee at a time in larger urban cities) the Community Relations Director should meet with the District Commander and discuss who ought to be included in an Executive Committee to develop a Citizen's Committee in that particular neighborhood. Representation should be wide and varied, encompassing as many factions within the neighborhood as practicable. Business, labor, education, and minority group members, for example, should be included and it should be stressed that it is of the utmost importance that the membership of such a committee include the dissident elements of the community. Between eight and ten persons who are leaders, formal or indigenous, in the neighborhood should be included on the District Executive Committees. The District Police Commander should be a member. The Executive Committee should meet and, with the help of

the Community Relations Director, map plans for the formation of the larger District Committee, in which membership would be open to all residents of the neighborhood and persons employed there. It should meet once a month at a time and place convenient to the entire community.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee, who as previously outlined is a member of the city-wide Advisory Council, should be the Chairman of the District Committee and each member of the Executive Committee should be a Chairman of a District Neighborhood Sub-committee concerned with the special problem areas in his neighborhood. Each Neighborhood Sub-committee chairman should hold monthly meetings in his neighborhood based on the Workshop format.

At the General District monthly meeting it is advisable to have as many police officers from the district present as possible. They should sit scattered throughout the citizens attending and have as much interaction as possible. The monthly meeting should be run by the Chairman of the Executive Committee and all Chairmen of Sub-committees should sit at the front of the room where they are easily identifiable. The program should include a report of the District Commander on crime conditions, specific police problems, and an outline of the work of his officers for the month. Sub-committee Chairmen can then give their

reports on what the Sub-committees are doing. It is wise to have a special guest speaker or some other event at each meeting to focus on a particular problem area. A judge or leader in the civil rights movement might be appropriate. At the close of the presentation there should be discussion with the floor then being thrown open for general comments and questions. A coffee hour might be held with the officers mixing as much as possible with the citizens and obtaining the citizens' attitudes on police methods, procedures, and community problems.

The Executive Committee should meet monthly in the Police District station to discuss the issues raised at the District and Sub-committee meetings, the tension points observed by the District Officers, and the progress of the community relations effort. The Executive Committee should have present representatives of all social and governmental agencies operating in the district who have a concern with the crime problem. This will allow an inter-professional approach to problem solving. For example, if there is a juvenile gang problem in the district, a coordinated effort by the police, welfare, and schools might be able to make plans for providing places for juvenile activity under adult supervision.

The responsibility of the Police and Community Relations Director or his representative in the District

Committee organization is one of advisor and program consultant. The final responsibility for implementation of the program must come from the District Commander who is ultimately responsible for community relations in his district and the Director can only offer program suggestions, advice, and city-wide coordination. The commander has the responsibility of instilling in his men an awareness of community problems and involving them in steps toward conflict and tension reduction. The Director, through reports received from the District Commander, has the responsibility of determining city-wide and district tension points and reporting to the Chief proposed methods and programs of tension elimination. The Community Relations Unit should provide clerical help as necessary to each District in support of District Committee activities. Yet it is necessary for the District Commander to have sufficient sworn and civilian personnel to serve as District Community Relations Coordinators who have the responsibility of contacting district citizens to enlist their participation in the police and community relations program, working with district schools in educating the youth of the district in law observance and citizen-police responsibilities, and representing the commander at all organizational meetings where the police should be present. The general format of the District Committee, in its early stages, will not reach

the masses of people in a lower socio-economic population unless the Commander of the District gets his men out on the street telling the people about the program. Many residents of the area will not come to the police. Hence, the police will have to go to them. Small group meetings, on a neighborhood level, will have to be arranged by Sub-committee Chairmen if all population segments are to be reached. There is no more successful method of "reaching" the people than face-to-face contact and discussion. Each officer must continually be talking about the program to the residents of the district.

In departments with District stations, the District Commander should assign one of his top supervisors as the District Police and Community Relations Coordinator. (SEE CHARTS VIa - VId) In those departments having major line Divisions, each should also have a Coordinator although the final implementation of community relations programming must occur at the District level. It is a full-time activity. The assignment of one patrolman to a District station as a police and community relations officer will not involve all District officers in the activity. The department should create the position of District Community Relations Coordinator and this position should be filled from any rank in the District. It should be equal to the rank of

Watch (or shift) Commander. This officer should coordinate the District police and community relations effort, attend all meetings in the district with which the police have an interest (or which would be of value to improving the relationship), and inspect the district activities for conflict or tension points.

The District Community Relations Coordinator should be the officer who will be best able to deal with the residents of the District. If the language of minorities in the District is not English he should be able to converse in that language. He should be thoroughly familiar with police procedures and methods of operation and have a good knowledge of social agencies operating in the district. In sum, he should be the best man available for dealing effectively with police and community members in solving community problems. His activities and those of other District officers are at the heart of the police and community relations effort. The key to his success, and ultimately the success of the entire program, will be the degree of involvement in the neighborhood; i.e., the feeling and understanding of the community pulse.

The District Community Relations Coordinator should have assigned to him the number of personnel necessary to implement programs designed by the District committee,

Community Relations Unit, and Advisory Council. His staff needs should depend on the type and number of programs being carried out. He should, however, make extensive use of the District personnel. Specific programs have been outlined in earlier sections of this chapter.

Public Information. With communication being one of the essential elements of the police and community relations program, the public information activity must be an integral part of the program. In sum, this activity tells what is being done and tells what ought to be done.

This activity, in the smallest departments, is the responsibility of the Chief. In large departments the Director of Community Relations should handle it, and in the largest departments, having a Police and Community Relations Unit with specialized sections, a special section should be formed to fulfill this function. The section should be staffed by professional public relations people having a good knowledge of communication techniques.

One of its functions is maintaining an appropriate relationship between the press and the department. The dissemination of information should be coordinated and directed by the person or unit having the public information responsibility. Press releases and other announcements should be prepared in a uniform manner. All information

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in written form leaving the department for publication should be distributed through this person or section.

A second function of this unit is the publication of informational brochures for the public concerning operations of the department (such as pamphlets on burglary prevention) and publication of the annual report. This unit should work in close colaboration with the District Committees in providing them with printed materials for use in their programs.

A third activity should be the publication of journals and newsletters for department personnel and citizens. They should be prepared to meet the needs of their intended audience. Thus, if the newsletter is for professional people it should have a highly stylized format and if for persons with a low educational level its style should be such that it will be understood. This unit should develop a city-wide community relations newsletter reporting on all activities of the District Committees. Distribution should be made to as many citizens as possible, whether or not they are members of a District Committee. This can be accomplished by placing stacks of them in places where large numbers of residents frequent, such as supermarkets. It is of the utmost importance that such newsletters be in English and any other language in wide usage throughout the community.

This unit should conduct tours of headquarters for all interested persons and District Committees should promote this activity. The tours should be conducted by officers with a good command of the English language and of an ethnic group language if necessary. These officers must possess a thorough knowledge of all appropriate department functions.

Requests for speakers should be funneled through this unit. They should fill requests with persons well suited to address the particular group. Age, appearance, diction, and other factors should be considered in complying with requests. No formal speech should be made by department personnel without prior notification and approval of this unit.

When assigning speakers, presently most departments give too much emphasis to making their department "look good". In many instances more good would be done if the police speak on some of the issues confronting the community. If the speaker is to appear before a meeting of the local businessman's club he ought to consider telling the members that <u>they</u> have a responsibility for crime and community tension and unless a united community effort is made the police will be able to do little toward tension and conflict control. This type of community involvement

is not foreign to the police role as they are charged with controlling crime and must use whatever means necessary to elicit community awareness.

Summary. The above stated activities are the basis of the police and community relations program. Whether they are performed by one man in the smaller departments or by a specialized unit in the larger department is not of great importance. Rather, the mere performance of these functions will open new communications channels for internal and external problem solving and tension reduction. The basis will have been established for using the wide and varied resources of citizens toward maintaining a peaceable and secure community.

The organizational format set forth in this section of the report is but one part of the police and community relations activity. The development of a unit, establishment of Citizens Councils, and appointment of officers to coordinate the activity will have little value if the effort and commitment to police and community relations does not permeate every level of the organization and every action taken by the department and its officers.

The establishment of a program along the lines formulated in this section is urged. We do not, however, feel that implementation of the program will immediately

POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM
MAJOR COMMUNICATIONS CHANNELS

= Major Communication Channel

CHART VIII

improve the police and community relationship. Hostilities and misunderstandings will manifest themselves in the initial program as channels of expression become available. Time, sincere commitment, and understanding of each officer will be of paramount importance if the program is to succeed. The police are as human as the people they serve. They have feelings, hostilities, misunderstandings and prejudices. The total program must strive to control these expressions in a manner which will afford equal protection of all citizens under law.

CHAPTER IV

POLICE CONDUCT AND THE PUBLIC

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the administrative head of a police organization is charged with the supervision and discipline of all police employees. To some degree, this power is conditioned by the existence of police boards, civil service commissions, etc. From an efficiency perspective, it is no doubt best if such limitations upon the chief's prerogative are kept to a minimum. However, the question of administrative efficiency is not an exclusive consideration, because effectiveness is equally, or more, important. Perhaps effectiveness is the foremost consideration because even the most efficient departments are often not effective in accomplishing their objectives.

The police are becoming well informed on methods of efficiency, and they are striving to implement this knowledge. However, they view effectiveness as directly related to effieiency and this is not necessarily true. Police effectiveness in the area of social control rests to a significant degree upon the ability of the department to secure general community cooperation. Police administra-

tors have too often shunted aside effectiveness during adoration of the god, "efficiency." There is a vital need for the reconsideration of this position and the recommendations that follow should be viewed in this context.

The subject of police conduct focuses attention upon a problem area where the balance is being neglected. Probably no single issue in the field of police and community relations has been the subject of greater discussion than civilian review boards. The mere mention of the topic is likely to evoke alternating hurrahs and boos from an audience consisting of police and civil libertarians. The civilian review board has become a symbol to both sides with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. demanding one in a recent meeting with Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago[1] and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover labeling the idea "ill-advised."[2] The police have become so closed-minded about the subject that Dr. Jacob Qwast, an ex-police-man-psychologist, was prompted to say that the police are a "little nutty" on the subject.[3]

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[1]The Lansing State Journal, July, 1966.

[2]J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Vol. 34 No. 1, (January), 1965.

[3]"Police on the Spot," Newsweek, (June 27, 1966), p. 25.

This survey confirms these "battle lines." While only a few cities such as Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and San Jose, California, presently have such boards, a large number of cities' chief executives are being asked to form such entities. Those jurisdictions that are presently experiencing the greatest pressure for similar boards, are the same cities where public confidence in the police disciplinary practices is at a low ebb.

There are people who say that the demand for review boards is only symptomatic, and that there are much deeper problems which have nothing to do with the police. The International Association of Chiefs of Police states:

> "Enlightened citizens who share the professional police executive's desire to provide the highest caliber of law enforcement service are not likely to accede to short-range expediencies. The problems exemplified by citizens' complaints against police agencies will not be cured, nor even revealed in their entirety, by a panel of citizen-judges concerned only with the aspects of the case at hand."[4]

The creation of an external review board will not solve the social, economic and political problems facing our communities, indeed, no single step will. However, in city after city the police, a public service agency, and the public, or at least segments of the public, speak and act like adversaries preparing to engage in

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[4]"IACP Position Statement on Police Review Boards", The Police Chief, (June, 1965), p. 6.

open warfare. The rightness or wrongness of their respective positions exists primarily in the minds and philosophy of each group. Therefore, the solution cannot be explained as a simple three-step process. It depends upon changing attitudes on both sides. Do police generally support misconduct on the part of fellow officers? No! Are the advocates of review boards generally intelligent, loyal Americans? Yes! The problem then is to make it possible for both sides to learn of and understand legitimate arguments presented by the other, because neither group can force the other to believe anything it is not willing to accept.

Therefore, the starting point must be with the most apparent cause of the conflict - a public belief that policemen mistreat some citizens. Related to this is a widespread lack of confidence in the internal police disciplinary processes in certain segments of the society and by some police officers. The "You are! - We aren't!" arguments of the police and segments of the public that are related to these attitudes can only be stopped by proof that will be accepted by both sides as reliable and trustworthy.

Therefore, in this chapter is presented evidence, which is not intended as a general indictment of police departments, but rather as an indication that the police

must make the first move by recognizing their apparent shortcomings if they expect to prove themselves worthy of the respect of their citizens. Although, placing the entire emphasis upon a critical analysis of weaknesses in the police departments grossly neglects the improvements they have made and the excellent jobs they are doing in most areas, it is necessary to emphasize these shortcomings if they are to be corrected. It would be easy to minimize the police weaknesses and place the responsibility for problems elsewhere; however in a democracy the police are the servants of society not the masters. Where disagreements and conflicts exist the police, as responsible servants, are under an obligation to correct their weaknesses. The simple fact that conditions of police conduct have improved is as acceptable as an army private justifying his unshined shoes by calling attention to the fact that in the previous inspection they were in worse condition.

There is no neglecting the fact that the majority of police departments and police officers intend only to accomplish their goal, as they interpret it, of maintaining order in a legal, ethical manner. However, some emphasize the accomplishment of their goals so explicitly that they neglect a proper concern for their means. Such negligence generally involves only one or two activities or procedures

and a small number of officers within the police department; however, because of this the entire profession suffers. Enough suspicion-provoking circumstances have been witnessed to conclude that the public occasionally has reasonable cause to suspect their department of some negligent and/or improper activity. For example, some of the internal police disciplinary systems are inadequate and/or faulty and this creates an atmosphere for suspicion of any attempts that the police departments might make to correct the situation.

In the following pages, the emphasis will be upon the conduct and attitudes of both the police and the public that create misunderstanding, suspicion, disrespect, prejudice, conflict, and hostility that results in increasingly worse police and community relations. The chapter concludes with the presentation of organizational models for the handling of complaints concerning the conduct of police employees. The utilization of these recommended models, in conjunction with the model community relations program presented in the previous chapter, will facilitate the juxtaposition of community beliefs regarding the police and the actual police situation.

COMPLAINTS CONCERNING CONDUCT

Due to the emphasis that has been placed upon certain types of civilian complaints, police officials tend to think of them in terms of a narrowly defined concept while in reality the area is not so limited. The mental set of many police administrators is such that when the term "complaint" is mentioned, they begin to discuss civilian complaints of brutality. The significance of this type of complaint in the area of community relations cannot be denied, and it merits detailed attention, but it is only one category among several. Since all are related, at least in the sense that they effect police and community relations, police officials must insure that they all will be adequately processed.

Although all complaints contain certain similar characteristics, they are sufficiently different to require categorization. For purposes of this study the following classifications will be utilized: (1) Departmental Employee Against the Department, (2) Departmental Employee Against Departmental Employee, (3) Citizen Against Police Department, and (4) Citizen Against Police Officer.

Departmental Employee Against the Department. Complaints in this category involve internal departmental problems attributable to the organization and affecting its individual

members. They are generally related to "unfair" procedures and regulations, working conditions, organizational policies, or employee treatment. There is a growing belief that a police department has an obligation to provide channels through which all its employees can offer criticism and initiate changes in the department. With the continual improvement in the caliber of low ranking personnel will come the need for more sophisticated methods for dealing with them, and this includes providing them with ample opportunities to express their complaints and grievances.

The Municipal Yearbook of 1966 indicates that only 75% of 1181 reporting cities have any type (formal or informal) grievance system.[5] "54%: of the cities over 100,000 population compared with 30% of the cities between 10,000 and 100,000 have formal written grievance procedures."[6] 26% of the cities between 10,000 and 100,000 are entirely without grievance procedures compared with 15% of those over 100,000 population.

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[5]"Municipal Personnel Data," 1966 Municipal Yearbook (Chicago: ICMA, 1966), pp. 179-80.

[6]Ibid.

TABLE I *

TYPES OF GRIEVANCE PROCEDURES*

Population Group	No. of Cities Reporting	Formal Procedure		Informal Grievance Procedure	No Procedure
		Currently	Being Formulated		
Over 500,000	23	10	3	10	0
250,000 to 500,000	25	14	1	3	7
100,000 to 250,000	79	45	5	17	12
50,000 to 100,000	154	68	3	51	27
25,000 to 50,000	289	93	25	119	52
10,000 to 25,000	611	159	39	218	195
	1,181	389	81	418	293

*Source: 1966 Municipal Yearbook, p. 181.

There is a need for an adequate system of handling complaints about the organization. Even though the immediate impact of such a system on community relations may not be great, the presence of a system will help to prevent future problems. In addition, if properly utilized by the administrator, this can be a most useful tool for improving the organization. The establishment of such a system should result in an improvement in the morale of the department which will ultimately improve the public's opinion of the police.

Departmental Employee Against Departmental Employee. This category includes three general types of complaints: (1) those made by a superior officer about a subordinate; (2) those made by a subordinate about a superior; and (3) those made by any employee about another employee of equal rank.

The study indicated that while police departments respect the right of supervisors to voice complaints against subordinates, there is seldom any established procedure for complaints of the last two types. The importance of providing machinery for these types of complaints cannot be overstressed.

Subordinates with complaints about illegal or improper activites on the part of superiors often risk reprisal if they attempt to formally to express these complaints. This fact contributed substantially to the development of situations such as the police scandals in Denver, Chicago, and Indianapolis in recent years. For example, one source says of the Denver scandal of 1960-61:

> "The cop who reported (criminal companions) to his superiors found himself ostracized. More often than not, he found himself stripped of privileges, walking a boondock beat - or harried out of a job. Even before he turned to active crime, Jerry Sanford investigated a supermarket safecracking, found a night stick on the floor. 'I picked it up and put it in my car. I'm not going to fink'."[7]

Mort Stern says essentially the same thing:

> "So the rookie, full of pride and high spirit, his head full of partially learned information, is turned over to a more experienced man for breaking in. He is on probation for six months. . . The older man stops at a bar, comes out with some packages of cigarettes. He does this several times. He explains that this is part of the job, getting cigarettes free from proprietors to resell,

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[7] Time, (November 3, 1961), p. 17.

> and that as a part of the rookie's training, it is his turn to 'make the butts.'
>
> "So he goes in to a skid row bar and stands uncomfortably at the end waiting for the bartender to. . . toss him two packages of butts.
>
> "The feeling of pride slips away and a hint of shame takes hold. But he tells himself this is unusual, that he will say nothing that will upset his probation standing. In six months, after he gets his commission, he will be the upright cop he meant to be. . . The rule book forbids all this. But it isn't enforced. It is winked at at all levels."[8]

Whatever good can be said about the quasi-military design of American police organizations, it certainly is not conducive to obtaining this type of complaint from line personnel. Nearly every organization contacted made it extremely difficult both formally and informally for a patrolman to inform higher officials of improper activities on the part of his fellow officers or his supervisors. The departments nearly always require an exhaustion of the chain of command before pressing a complaint elsewhere.

The ICMA information[9] indicates that 86% of the cities with formal and 37% of those with informal grievance procedures require an officer to follow the chain of command.

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[8]An Ex-policeman as told to Mort Stern, "Why Cops Go Wrong." The Dayton Daily News, Dayton, Ohio, Nov. 26, 1961, p. 10.

[9]1966 Municipal Yearbook, op. cit., p. 181.

TABLE II*

GRIEVANCES PROCEDURE

Population Group		No. of Cities	Procedure Used: Chain of Command	Personnel Department	Committee Type	Other
Over 500,000	formal	10	9	0	0	1
	informal	12	9	3	0	0
250,000 to 500,000	formal	14	12	0	0	2
	informal	3	2	0	0	1
100,000 to 250,000	formal	44	41	1	1	1
	informal	16	12	2	1	1
50,000 to 100,000	formal	67	57	6	3	1
	informal	51	39	6	1	5
25,000 to 50,000	formal	89	78	5	3	3
	informal	115	102	2	5	6
10,000 to 25,000	formal	153	129	6	13	5
	informal	210	189	7	7	7

*Source: 1966 Municipal Yearbook, p. 181.

Certainly requiring strict adherence to the chain-of-command will prevent an administrator from receiving complaints that might be valuable to him. Most police rules have a section similar to the one in Tucson, Arizona. It says:

> Complaints against supervisory officers by subordinates shall be made to the supervisor and if satisfaction is not forthcoming, he may resort to the prescribed procedure going on up the chain of command.[10]

How does a patrolman go about telling his supervisor that he suspects the supervisor is being paid off by organized crime?

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10 "Complaints, Suspensions, Resignations, Dismissals and Disciplinary Action," Chapter 6-8, Police Manual (Tucson: Police Department, no date).

He could violate the rules, but it's easier to remain quiet and not take the chance of being dismissed for such a procedural violation until such time as there is enough evidence to positively support his claim. This time seldom comes for the patrolman.

On the other hand departmental regulations often require that complaints made by supervisors about patrolmen by-pass the chain-of-command and go directly to the Chief. Tucson's Manual says:

> Complaints in writing may be made to the Chief of Police by commanding officers or heads of divisions, or by officers of a higher rank against any subordinate member or civilian employee of the department for alleged violation of these rules and regulations or of good order, efficiency and discipline.[11]

It is difficult to visualize the reasons behind the differences in procedures.

The New York Police Survey of 1952 emphasized one of the results, however, when they noted that

> Very few charges are brought against sergeants and almost none against lieutenants or officers of higher rank, unless and until criminal proceedings are initiated against them by other public agencies.[12]

Even though finding statistical data to support such a conclusion was practically impossible, from the conversations with police personnel officers it is apparent that this is the

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Mayor's Committee on Management, New York Police Survey (New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1952), pp. 7-8.

present case in most police organizations throughout the country. Seldom are command officers disciplined.

No officer should be forced to make a complaint concerning a superior to that same superior, nor should any employee suffer repercussions because of a complaint about any other officer unless it was deliberately malicious. Employee complaints against other employees should be kept strictly confidential, unless action is taken against one of the involved parties and because of this action it becomes necessary to reveal the identity of the complainant.

The regulations of the Boise, Idaho, Police Manual provide a model that is appropriate in this area:

> Reporting Violations of Laws, Ordinances, Rules or Orders. If you know of other members or employees violating laws, ordinances, or rules of the department, or disobeying orders, you shall report same in writing to the Chief of Police via official channels. If you believe the information is of such sensitivity or such gravity that it must be brought to immediate personal attention of the Chief of Police you may by-pass official channels.
>
> Obedience to Unlawful Orders. Obedience to an unlawful order is never a defense for any unlawful action; therefore you are not required to obey any order which is contrary to federal or state law or local ordinance. Responsibility for refusal to obey rests with you. You shall be required to justify your action.[13]

Establishment and observance of rules such as these will unquestionably benefit the sincere administrator who really

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[13] Police Manual (Boise, Idaho: Police Department, undated), p. 6.

wants to control the conduct of his officers.

Citizen Against the Department. Here all complaints initiated by members of the public against the police department are included. The most common complaints under this category allege unfair, discriminatory, improper, and/or inefficient practices on the part of the police organization. For example, the use of police dogs offends some people, and these persons have complaints about the policy of the organization that uses dogs. Or, some areas have a large proportion of the community who believe the department has implicit regulations that force discriminatory hiring practices, and these groups want to submit this complaint and their evidence to a fair, impartial investigation and hearing.

The nature of these complaints require a public airing. For an administrator to refuse to acknowledge them will only compound the problem by making it appear that the organization does have something to hide. The consequences of failing to provide methods for handling this type of complaint can be severe, and it is imperative that police administrators immediately initiate action to provide for the handling of this form of grievance.

Civilian Against Police Officer. This classification of complaints is the most common, as well as the most pressing current problem area for the police. Involved is a citizen

complainant who alleges an individual officer (or group of officers) committed some act or omission that either violates the law or departmental policy. The complaint may be the result of any of a number of situations, but the most frequent, according to the survey data, is discourtesy which was listed by 42 out of the 63 police departments that responded to the questionnaire. The second most frequent complaint overall was the use of unnecessary force. Beyond these first two types there was little consensus.

TABLE III*

MOST COMMON CIVILIAN COMPLAINTS

Complaint	No. of Depts. Where This I A Common Complaint		Departmental Rankings 1st Most Common Complaint		2nd Most Common Complaint		3rd Most Common Complaint	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Discourtesy and Disrespect	42	66.6	23	36.5	15	23.8	4	6.3
Use of Unnecessary Force	22	34.9	10	15.9	6	9.6	6	9.6
Mishandling a Traffic ticket	17	26.9	9	14.3	6	9.6	2	3.1
Corruption-Graft, etc.	2	3.1					2	3.1
Discrimination	1	1.6			1	1.6		
All others**	34	53.9	5		12	19.0	17	26.9
No Answer	9	14.3						

*Source: Survey mail questionnaires. N-63.

**This includes primarily complaints about debts, drinking off duty, women, domestic trouble, failure to answer calls quickly, etc.

A large proportion of the respondent's answers could not be classified because of their diversity. Relatively few departments reported that complaints of dishonesty are a problem.

Information related to the racial class of complainants was difficult to obtain. Two departments were willing to provide such information on a confidential basis, and a comparison of the limited data obtained is presented in Table IV. Although the populations of the cities are similar both in number and racial composition, it is interesting that the racial characteristics of the complainants are not represented in the same proportions. In fact, the complaints of excessive force portray practically opposite source patterns. One fact that these statistics make apparent is that it is erroneous to attribute all complaints, or even most complaints, about police conduct to Negroes for it is obvious that a significant number are lodged by Caucasians.

One common characteristic of the complainants, that was observed by the staff, was the likelihood that the complainant would be from the lower socio-economic class. Although several instances of misconduct were observed, in none did the abused citizen appear to be from the upper-middle or upper social-economic classes.

A high ranking officer from one department may have unintentionally disclosed why this is true. While talking

TABLE IV *

SOURCES OF COMPLAINTS AGAINST POLICE IN TWO DEPARTMENTS

Complaint	1964 City A Cauc.	Negro	Latin	1964-65 City B Cauc.	Negro
Excessive Force	63	42	13	35	71
Unwarranted Action	11	24	1	N.A.	
Conduct Unbecoming	117	34	6	43	34
Dishonesty	8	14	2	11	6
Intoxication	4	1	0	N.A.	
Neglect of Duty	31	10	0	22	10
Sex	8	0	1	N.A.	
Other	3	1	0	N.A.	

*Source: These statistics were taken from donfidential departmental records in two cities of the same population class.

with four members of the staff about the difficulties involved in returning traffic violators, who have been observed violating the law in the city but could not be apprehended until they were in the adjoining state, he acknowledged the serious problem involved. He indicated that in most instances the violator is simply returned to the city but could not be apprehended until they were in the adjoining state, he acknowledged the serious problem involved. He indicated that in most instances the violator is simply returned to the city without formal legal procedures being followed, but such action is a discretionary matter for the individual officer involved. He said the officer has to be careful whom he arrests under such circumstances. When pressed for the criteria utilized to determine who

would ordinarily be arrested he said, "It depends upon how he (the suspect) looks!"

After realizing he may have said the wrong thing the officer became quite embarrassed.

Both the literature and opinions of citizens interviewed tended to support this elsewhere also. The surprising thing is that the Caucasians in the lower economic groups are not generally recognized as also being dissatisfied with the police conduct. Perhaps this is attributable to the general tendency to expect that the Negro will disapprove of the police more often. As indicated earlier, nearly all studies rated Negro attitudes toward the police lower than Caucasian.

Perhaps this is one more reason why these groups lack confidence in the police. It is one more reason why they do not believe in internal disciplinary procedures.

Implications. It should be indicated that all of these categories and types of complaints are important and provision should be made to afford each type a proper outlet. However, contemporary community relations are not vitally affected by the first two classes. Therefore, while developing methods for disposing of these complaints is necessary to forestall future problems, the major emphasis should be placed upon preparing methods and structures to handle the last two types since they vitally influence the

current community relationship.

Administrators should remember that this ranking of importance is relative. It depends upon, and should be gauged by, the situation in the organization and the community at a particular point in time. Since it is relative and situational, it is also dynamic, and the order existing today may not have existed six months ago, nor will it necessarily exist six months in the future.[15] Of primary importance in regard to community relations is public attention and attitudes. Regardless of the importance that an administrator personally places upon a certain type of complaint, if community attention does not focus upon it and the community does not consider it significant, the complaint will have little influence on community relations. On the other hand, an administrator may personally believe that a certain type of complaint is not important to community relations, but if community attention designates it as important, then it is vital that the police consider it in the same

[15]For example, at one time community attention may be focused on discrimination in police hiring and in six months it may change to patrolmen that use unnecessary force. To further elaborate, in the early part of the century, the important complaints hinged on police corruption. Since World War II the emphasis has been on illegal and abusive police practices, making them first in importance. In the future there is reason to believe that the important type of complaints will be those of employees concerning the organization.

light. The administrator should constantly attempt to ascertain the community temper in this area of concern.

THE SPECIAL CASE OF BRUTALITY

Police brutality is the most explosive and widely disputed claim made by minority groups against police officers. With the extensive recent literature that has been addressed to the topic, it might be assumed at least that there would be consensus among the police and the public upon the definition. There is no such agreement, however, and this is part of the problem.

The Definition of Brutality. The interview phase of the field survey indicated that, while there were some discernible differences between members of the public over the construction of the term police brutality, no detectable wide diversity of opinion along racial lines became apparent.[16]

The interviewers did notice, however, that even though there was a similar wide range of opinion among police officials, they tended to support a more limited definition of

[16]The sample drawn for this survey consisted of formally recognized community leaders, who were by-and-large from the upper-middle class. Occupationally they were generally doctors, lawyers, college professors, ministers, priests, rabbis, and governmental supervisors--both elected and civil service. However, even though the staff is aware of the inherent weaknesses of this survey method and the need for further experimentation using more controlled conditions, the extensiveness of this survey, the degree of similarity in the conclusions reached by the different teams of workers, and the considerable support that is provided by related specialized studies of a more limited and scientifically precise nature, indicate that the results of this survey are more than valid enough to support the conclusions that are presented.

the term than other community leaders who were interviewed in the same area. The interviewers pointed out that practically universal agreement existed between police officers and the public on one fact; both groups felt that the use of unnecessary physical force to the point of injury or bloodshed should be considered police brutality. The noticeable differences between the police official's and the community leader's definitions occurred in the area outside of physical force. Although a sizeable proportion of the interviewees were unsure if verbal and psychological abuse should be considered brutality, the police officials were more likely to insist that these actions should never be considered as brutal.

Staff interviewers also noticed that most police officials recognized that minority groups were not in agreement with this limited definition and in several instances the interviewers were told that the dictionary definition of brutality only includes physical force. Even though this is a widespread belief in the police field, it is an erroneous one. The most commonly accepted authority on semantics says:

> brutal,...of or pertaining to a brute; brutish; hence, savage; cruel; also coarse; gross
>
> brutality, ... A brutal act.[17]

[17] Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary. (2nd Ed.), (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam Company, Publishers, 1956), p. 108.

This definition is obviously far broader than the construction entertained by most police officials and some members of the public. The staff feels this certainly merits some consideration by police before they completely reject the possibility of non-physical brutality.

However, the definition does not eliminate the assumption of some police that a majority of their citizens do not believe that anything but violent physical force can be brutal. Although the interviews indicate that this is not a valid assumption, the nature and massiveness of the information contained on the interview forms made precise quantification and tabulation of all this material presently impractical, if not impossible.

The returns from the mail questionnaires were utilized as an alternative. The responses (Table V, Table VI, and Table VII) were quite significant and definitely point out a wide variance between the police chief's conception of brutality and that of the community leaders. As stated previously, practically all of the respondents, both police and public feel that unnecessary force, to the point of bloodshed or injury, is brutal. Similarly a large proportion of the respondents classified rough handling as brutality, although about 25% of the respondents in each group did not believe this action to be within the meaning of the term.

The wide variations between the classes of respondents in regard to labeling verbal abuse brutality makes the point of conflict apparent. Although 85.1% of all Negroes answering the questionnaire indicated that name calling and profane language by a policeman is brutal, only 45.0% of the Caucasian police chiefs held a similar point of view. The significant point which should be considered is that the Negro respondents were not without support for their position for a substantial majority of 65.3% of Caucasian community leaders responses also construed brutality to include verbal abuse.

TABLE V*

POLICE ACTION PERCEIVED BY COMMUNITY LEADERS AS "POLICE BRUTALITY"

POLICE ACTION	Percentage of Each Group**			
	Caucasian N=130		Negro N=54	
	%	No.	%	No.
1. Unnecessary use of force to point of injury, bloodshed, etc.	96.9	126	96.2	52
2. Rough Handling	73.0	95	75.9	41
3. Verbal abuse (name calling, profan language, etc.)	65.3	85	85.1	46
4. Rudeness (sarcasm, ridicule curtness, disrespect)	54.6	71	70.3	38
5. Other***	9.2	12	12.9	7
6. No Answer	3.0	4	0	0

*Source: Mail Questionnaires.
**Rounded off to nearest tenth of one percent.
***Primarily constitutional rights violations and discrimination mentioned.

The category of rudeness is equally telling, because of the total number of police officials a mere 28.3% felt that such things as police sarcasm, ridicule, curtness, and disrespect should be considered under the definition of brutality. On the other hand, 54.6% of the Caucasian leaders and 70.3% of the Negro leaders maintained that this type of conduct by police officers constitutes police brutality.

TABLE VI*

POLICE ACTION PERCEIVED BY POLICE LEADERS AS "POLICE BRUTALITY"

Percentage of Each Group**

POLICE ACTION	Caucasian N=60		Negro N=2	
	%	No.	%	No.
1. Unnecessary use of force to point of bloodshed, injury, etc.	98.3	59	100***	2
2. Rough Handling	73.3	44	0	0
3. Verbal abuse (name calling, profane language, etc.)	45.0	27	0	0
4. Rudeness (sarcasm, ridicule, curtness, disrespect)	28.3	17	0	0
5. Other****	11.7	7	0	0
6. No Answer	1.7	1	0	0

*Source: Mail Questionnaires
**Rounded off to the nearest tenth of one per cent.
***Note this very unreliable because of the very small number of Negro responses (2).
****Discrimination and violations of constitutional rights primarily mentioned.

The situation therefore, can be summarized as follows: (1) the field interviews established only that citizens are generally more likely than the police to define the use of verbal and psychological abuse as brutality; (2) the dictionary definitely defines brutality in broad terms that would certainly include such actions as verbal abuse and even rudeness; and (3) the returned mail questionnaires indicate that a large majority of the total respondents believe verbal abuse such as name calling is brutal. In addition, slightly over 50% of the whites and 70% of the Negroes responding went as far as to classify rudeness, sarcasm, and disrespect by a policeman under the term.

The 55% of the police chiefs then, who do not believe verbal abuse can be brutal, are not in agreement with the majority of the community leaders. Additionally, the authority of the dictionary definition fully supports the public in this battle. The construction that should be placed upon the term "police brutality" is apparent.

In order to improve police and community relationships appreciable, police administrators are going to have to recognize that brutality can include both physical and verbal acts. Verbal brutality should be viewed as closely related to the concept of mental cruelty, which is serious enough in the civil courts of most states to provide grounds for a divorce. Certainly when semantics can incite and anger

a segment of the community to violence, the police must consider such terminology in the same category. If brutality is approached within this frame of reference, there can be no doubt that it exists in a large number of police organizations today.

The point that should be crystal clear is that, in order to determine what does and what does not constitute brutality, the police administrator, to some extent, should view the situation through the eyes of the average man in the group that is affected. The study has found no evidence to indicate that words, deeds, motions, activities, threats, intimidation, sarcasm, differential treatment, and force cannot constitute brutality. Whether it does or does not depends upon the situation and the individual affected. Rules and regulations to control the conduct of officers should be established in accord with a definition appropriate to these conclusions.

The Reality of Brutality. The mail questionnaires reveal that both the community leaders and the police feel that some police-community relations problems are created because of police brutality (see Table VII). In addition to the communications difficulties just discussed, the staff observed several other problems related to the area.

A survey of the literature is sufficient to indicate a serious controversy between the police and some members

of the public over whether or not police brutality actually exists in the United States.[18] The police literature maintains that the problem is seriously over-emphasized. For

TABLE VII*

EFFECT OF BRUTALITY ON POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

IN THE RESPONDENT'S COMMUNITY SOME ASPECT OF BRUTALITY	Percentage of Each Group					
	Caucasian				Negro	
	Community Leaders N=130		Police N=60		Community Leaders N=54	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
IS causing PCR Problems	61.5	80	58.3	35	79.6	43
IS NOT causing PCR Problems	35.3	46	38.3	23	16.6	9
No Answer	3.0	4	3.3	2	3.7	2

*Source: Mail Questionnaires.

example, in a recent article Mr. Quinn Tamm, Executive Director, International Association of Chiefs of Police, wrote:

[18]See Davis Stahl, et. al., The Community and Racial Crises, (New York: Practising Law Institute), 1966; George MacMillan, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council), 1964; J. Edgar Hoover, "Police Brutality - How Much Truth, How Much Fiction?", U. S. News and World Report, (September 27, 1965), pp. 116-119; and Robert C. Byrd, "Police Brutality or Public Brutality", The Police Chief, (February, 1966), pp. 7-10.

> I know of no period in recent history when the police have been the subject of so many unjustified charges of brutality, harassment and ineptness. It almost seems that the better we do our job of enforcing the law the more we are attacked.[19]

Police Chief Harold Dill of Denver, Colorado, was recently quoted as expressing a belief which characterizes the attitudes of many law enforcement officers interviewed by the staff. He said his men

> ...very rarely find any evidence to substantiate a claim of brutality. We feel that most complaints are made by persons trying to beat a court rap for some offense.[20]

Following these statements, both men utilized the proof of an absence of brutality that has become traditional in the police field. They cited the reports vs. conviction statistics of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the area of civil rights violations by police. Mr. Tamm points out that in 1963 less than 1% of total allegations of civil rights violations handled by the U. S. Department of Justice were even indicated upon completion of the FBI investigation. There can be no doubt if this is representative of the proportion of brutality claims that are actually valid, it

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[19]"Professionalism and Civil Rights," The Police Chief, (September, 1964.)

[20]"Charges of Police Brutality Thoroughly Probed, Dill says", Rocky Mountain NEWS, February 27, 1966.

would be difficult to contend that police brutality is in reality a problem.

The specific law utilized by the Department of Justice in cases involving alleged police brutality reads:

> "Whoever, under the color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom willfully subjects any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalities, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."[21]

In order to determine the value of utilizing conviction rates based on this law as a gauge for estimating the extent of its enforcement. For this the staff relies upon the investigation and conclusions of the United States Civil Rights Commission in 1961[22] and 1965.[23] In two separate reports initiated by this group, they refer to the inadequacy of the above statute for handling even flagrant cases of brutality. They attributed this inadequacy primarily to the

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[21] United States Criminal Code (Title 18), Section 242.

[22] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Justice, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 45-55.

[23] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Law Enforcement, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 118-119.

requirement that the official charged must have acted with specific intent to deny his victim Federal rights.

The Commission said:

> "Due primarily to the difficulties of prosecution which these statutes present and an inadequate staff, the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice has brought only a few prosecutions under these acts. An expanded staff and administrative reorganization promise a more aggressive handling of these cases, but the problems cannot be fully met without a revision of the statutes to eliminate existing deficiencies."[24]

Two statements are presented in the notes of the 1961 report that merit attention. In the first, written in 1946, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover explains the difficulty involved in properly enforcing Federal civil rights laws and he suggests that the FBI should not be burdened with this responsibility. He continues:

> The responsibility for the solution and prosecutive action in these cases and the jurisdiction for the accomplishment of these ends are in the State Courts. Under the present circumstances it appears that the work of the department and the Bureau is completely ineffective, both as a deterrent and as a punitive force.* Regardless of whether we like it, it is a fact that Federal Statutes penalizing violations of civil liberties are inadequate weapons for efficient enforcement by the Department and I think, consequently, that it is a mistake of policy for the Department to accept for

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[24] Ibid.

> investigation so many cases in which, as I have indicated, there is no probability of federal prosecutive action and in which the Bureau and the Department are merely assessed in the public mind with a responsibility which is neither discharged nor executed.[25]

The second statement recorded in the Commission's notes is much more recent than that made by Mr. Hoover, and it indicates that at least this former agent considered some human reasons that work to the disadvantage of a complaint. The report indicates that:

> In 1961 a Commission staff member interviewed a former FBI agent who had served with that agency for many years, but who, in his capacity at the time of the interview, handled certain complaints of civil rights violations, including police brutality. The Commission staff member's field notes state:
>
> I asked him why he did not refer the complaints to the FBI, especially since he was formerly a special agent. Mr. (name withheld) stated that he does not turn civil rights cases over to the Bureau, because they don't like them. He explained that it is very embarrassing to agents to have to investigate police department officials in the morning and then attempt to enlist their cooperation on other cases in the afternoon.* He stated that the Bureau distributed a monthly bulletin to police departments all over the country and makes no secret therein of the sort of information in which the FBI is interested, ie., kidnapping, bank robberies, but never civil

[25] Ibid., p. 214-215. *Emphasis added.

> rights. He stated that the Bureau feels that 'civil rights shouldn't be in there.'[26]

Tying the preceding together it appears that: (1) The Federal Statute used by the FBI to investigate brutality charges against local police officers is apparently ineffective, and, therefore, convictions arising from it are unreliable as an indication of the total number of complaints that are legitimate or false; (2) the Director of the FBI apparently also believes the Statute to be ineffective, which adds support to the preceding conclusion; and (3) there may be some psychological and personal limitations on a completely objective pursuit of the facts surrounding alleged brutality which might restrict the usually agressive investigation that is characteristic of the FBI.

In addition to these conclusions, no notice has been afforded the fact that the construction of this law does not include verbal brutality. Certainly, as previously discussed, this is an important aspect of brutality, and failure to include charges of this type would likely cause a grave distortion of conclusions based upon such an incomplete picture.

Therefore, it may be reasonably concluded that the Justice Department's small number of convictions for police

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[26] Ibid., p. 219. *Emphasis added.

brutality in proportion to the high number of alleged incidents, completely inadequate as evidence that a high percent of the brutality charges are false or uncalled for. In fact, the only thing this information reveals is that there are several allegations of brutality for every conviction obtained by the Justice Department.

Whether police brutality is a widespread phenomena or not, the study disclosed that many people honestly believe it to be. In several of the cities studied, one or more community leaders were able to provide documentation of instances of police conduct which they considered brutal.[27]

The staff analyzed and evaluated such reports and cases, considering available related material from official police and government records and reports, whenever possible, to determine their implications. Several conclusions became apparent: (1) there is no doubt that the claims of brutality are deliberately false in some instances; (2) in other cases the charges of brutality resulted from misunderstandings; (3) some reports did not lend themselves to proof

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[27]Among the reports used to support these contentions were "Police Malpractice and the Watts Riot, A Report by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, October, 1965; Joseph Fichter, Police Handling of Arrestees, (New Orleans: Loyola University of the South, 1964): U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Justice, 1961; American Civil Liberties Union, Petition for Investigation of the Seattle Department, (Seattle, Washington AFFILIATE, Date unknown); and The Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission, Report to Governor John Love on Hearings on Excessive Use of Force by Denver Police, Denver, Colorado, 1964.

or disproof; and (4) in some cases the evidence supports conclusions about the existence and extent of brutality that are unfavorable to the police. In these latter instances, the community often has sufficient reason to suspect the police of tolerating and sometimes even condoning unnecessary force by police officers. The following is some of the evidence which indicates the existence of some brutality, and tends to point out that allegations of police brutality are not always receiving proper attention by local police agencies.

Returning again to the 1961 report of the United States Civil Rights Commission, it states that although "most police officers never resort to brutal practices...police brutality is still a serious problem throughout the United States."[28] While it is not necessary to review herein all of their supporting data, the staff believes it is sufficient to justify such a conclusion.

On the basis of mass media documentation, a large portion of the population have come to accept, rightly or wrongly, that police brutality, particularly against the civil rights workers and Negroes, is widespread in the South.[29]

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[28] U. S. Civil Rights Commission, op. cit., pp. 2-8.

[29] Southern Regional Council, Southern Justice: An Indictment (Atlanta, Georgia, October 18, 1965), p. 24.

One report says:

> The demoralizing nature of (a Negro's day-to-day contact with police) is summed up in a Negro's encounter with two southern policemen as recounted by Claude Sitton in the New York Times. The encounter...might be called routine intimidation, the kind that every Negro dreads.
>
> 'Where're you going, nigger?' demanded the driver.
>
> 'Home,' replied the man.
>
> 'Let me see your identification.'
>
> He fished out a longshoreman's card and handed it to the policeman.
>
> 'Take off your hat, nigger,' ordered the policeman, still looking at the card. Before the command could be carried out he snatched the hat from the man's head and threw it to the pavement.
>
> 'What's that in your pocket?'
>
> 'Nothing.'
>
> The policeman thrust a lighted match into the lapel pocket of the man's coat. Striking a second match, he held it to the card, which curled and blackened in yellow flame.
>
> 'You go on now, nigger,' said the policeman. And he and his partner strode back to the police car and drove away.[30]

The truth in this specific report is not as important as

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[30] See Enforcement: a report on equal protection in the south (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis (New York: National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, 1960); George McMillan, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, May, 1964), and Southern Regional Council, Law Enforcement in Mississippi (Atlanta, July, 14, 1964).

the fact that it is typical of a large number of the accounts regarding southern law enforcement officers' treatment of Negroes and citizens who are outspoken for equal rights. Many southern publications are among those that have expressed a belief that this is true. The Greenville, Mississippi, Delta Democrat Times is one such newspaper. In an editorial on April 22, 1964, the following observation was made:

> With monotonous regularity, civil rights activists in Mississippi claim that they have been beaten either by law officers or prisoners bribed by the officers to attack them in various jails. Some of these protests can be discounted... But too many are not fabrications. Too many are the simple truth.
>
> ...(It) is more than a coincidence that the only prisoners who are consistently coming out of jail with bruises and black eyes are civil rights activists.

While the staff emphatically acknowledges that many southern police administrators are conscienciously striving to eliminate such conduct, it still is a serious problem. For example, the following was witnessed by a member of our staff:

> An older Negro in an old model sedan was approaching an intersection where a motorcycle policeman was directing traffic at about dusk. The light conditions made it difficult to see the traffic officer and the old man was near the policeman before he became aware of his presence and swerved to avoid driving into him. The officer stopped directing traffic, mounted his motorcycle and pursued the Negro. He rode up along the left side of the old man's vehicle and pulled his pistol, and pointed it directly at the citizen, telling him to stop or he would 'kill' him.

> The old man stopped his vehicle and sat motionless looking straight ahead. The officer stopped his cycle as the car stopped, holstered his weapon, and put the kickstand down to support the motorcycle. He then again drew his pistol and threatened the old man, sometimes holding the weapon within inches of the Negro's head.
>
> After a minute or so of this the officer holstered the pistol, opened the car door and physically pulled the Negro to the street, abusing him physically and verbally. Leaving him for a minute the officer walked to the rear of the auto for a short time, then returned, picked up the old man, half-carried him to the back of another auto parked nearby and placed him upon its trunk. After verbally abusing him for several minutes, the patrolman cautioned him never to repeat his negligent conduct and released him with no further action.

It would be difficult to deny that the driver might have exercised more caution or that the policeman's original anger was more than a typical human reaction. However, the extreme nature of his continued reaction certainly is beyond justification for not only was he exceeding his authority, he was also acting in a blatantly criminal fashion.

A detective with the staff member apologized for the misconduct of his fellow officer, and added that neither he nor the other officers on the organization approved of such conduct. However he made no report of the incident so that disciplinary action could be initiated.

Certainly the citizen, who was victimized, will have little difficulty rationalizing a contempt for the police. To expect that he or his associates can conceive of this incident as an isolated event is fantasy. Any future reports

of police brutality, whether true or not, will probably represent reality to them, and it will take more than the words of policemen to convince them that the police merit confidence and support.

The reports of police brutality obtained in northern urban areas indicate that if brutality exists it is not as open as in some southern communities. A majority of the members of the public and nearly all of the police officials of the North feel that the use of unnecessary force by policemen is seldom an intentional act. Generally, they are characterized by the Philadelphia Police Inspector who indicated that the deliberate use of "...too much force is a thing of the past. This problem has been practically overcome through improved police education and discipline. The problems the police should concentrate on now are in the verbal areas - disrespect and verbal abuse."

Certainly verbal misconduct is a police problem, but this survey indicates police officials who assume that the rise of unnecessary force does not represent a serious problem simply because they receive more complaints about discourtesy and verbal degredation are making a serious mistake. The survey lends support to the conclusion that intentional verbal abuse and the use of unnecessary force are closely related and vary in a positive correlation. Although the survey provided only limited empirical support for such

a conclusion, it follows logical reasoning because policemen whose feelings are so strong that they violate policy and regulations by intentionally antagonizing certain people are more likely to utilize extreme methods of emotional expression than are officers who do not violate regulations by deliberately antagonizing citizens. Additionally, organizations in which verbal abuse is not tolerated are also more apt to be intolerant of physical abuse than those that are not seriously concerned with how its officers express themselves.

The study points out that many police departments find it difficult to support their contention that charges of police brutality are being properly handled. There is sufficient questionable data to indicate that changes are in order. In some instances the evidence is adequate to cause any average objective citizen to suspect that members of the police department have little fear of punishment for using unnecessary force on certain segments of the community, because they appear to have a degree of formal and informal protection from their departments.

Most police departments have little in the way of statistical data related to excessive use of force. The most common method of recording such charges is an entry in the individual's personal folder. In those cities where statistical reports were tabulated, these reports are generally

treated confidentially and are available only to certain members of the department.

The staff obtained departmental reports or partial reports related to civilian complaints from six major cities. Table VII presents a comparison of the information dealing with the unnecessary use of force based upon the reports that were complete enough for our purposes. The number of manhours for each excessive force complaint varies considerably between departments. City B had approximately one complaint for every 59,775 manhours by sworn officers while in City A there was one for every 36,885 manhours. If these records are accurate the odds that an officer will be accused of using excessive force once every 18 years if he works in City A, once every 30 years if he works in City B, once every 19 years in City C, once every 23 years in City D, and once every 29 years in City E.[31]

A generalization made solely on these figures would likely support the position that complaints of excessive force are not a problem. However, further consideration raises the question of why a wide variation exists between

[31] The staff cautions that these figures should not be construed as completely accurate since there are differences in recording methods which would cause some variation.

TABLE VII

INTRA-DEPARTMENTAL COMPARISON

OF

EXCESSIVE FORCE COMPLAINTS

RECEIVED BY 5 POLICE DEPARTMENTS*

	City A	City B	City C	City D	City E
Approximate yearly man-hours of sworn members**	3,910,000	19,724,000	1,270,000	10,812,900	1,640,000
No complaints (excessive force)	106	330	33	231	28
No. man-hours per complaint	36,886	59,770	38,485	46,809	58,570
Expected frequency of complaint for each officer	One per 18 years	One per 30 years	One per 19 years	One per 23 years	One per 29 years

*Note: Reports from which some of these statistics were taken are considered confidential. Two police departments released their reports only after the staff members pledged not to release them publicly, and we feel it imperative that this pledge be respected. All these statistics are from statistical reports of 1964 or 1965, varying because of availability.

**This is based upon data taken from The Municipal Year Book, Chicago: ICMA, 1966.

the statistics of the different departments? Are they solely the result of recording differences, or are they caused by differences in the way the departments handle people who

attempt to complain about excessive force? On the other hand, maybe they result from the way policemen on the different departments conduct themselves. The staff has not been able to adequately determine why there are such differences. They may represent, however, legitimate grounds for questioning whether the allegations recorded by the police represent any substantial portion of the total incidents where there are even claims that excessive force was exercised by policemen.

Information available from New York City seems to support this conclusion. Complaints of unnecessary force reaching the department's internal investigation unit varied from a yearly low of 106 in 1956 to a high of 209 in 1962. However as the department became increasingly threatened by the possibility of an external advisory board, the internal procedure has been improved to enhance the public's confidence in it. During the first three months of 1966, the unit received 181 complaints, and the commander estimated the total for the year would be approximately 600. As the public confidence increased so did their complaints. If this is true, some police administrators may be basing estimates of brutality on inaccurate data which would result in serious distortions of the actual problem as well as their perceptions of it. The consequences of failing to take proper administrative action because this situation is not accurately perceived

might be grave.

A comparison of the excessive force complaints that are reportedly sustained or founded by the departments (Table IX) provides some interesting information that has implications related to the adequacy of departmental processing of these complaints.

TABLE IX

INTRA-DEPARTMENTAL COMPARISON OF EXCESSIVE FORCE COMPLAINTS SUSTAINED BY 5 POLICE DEPARTMENTS*

Police Dept.	No. Complaints (Excessive Force)	Sustained Complaints		Pending Disposition		Expected Frequency of Dept. sustaining this type complaint for ea. officer
		No.	%	No.	%	
A	106	0	0	9	8.5	One per 217 yrs.**
B	330	6	1.8			One per 1643 yrs.
C	33	4	12.1			One per 158 yrs.
D	231	12	5.2			One per 429 yrs.
E	28	0	0			Never occur

*Note: Source and conditions in Table VIII are the same for this chart.

**This assumes that all pending complaints will be sustained, which is unlikely.

Although the number of excessive force complaints sustained in relation to the total number made to the police is low in each department, the differences between organizations are large enough to need explanation. The Police Department in City E received and investigated a total of twenty-eight complaints alleging an excessive use of force by police officers. The department's internal investigators bureau conducted the investigations of these cases and decided that none of the complaints could be proven. Since the total number is low and represents only complaints made during one year the absence of sustained complaints is not sufficient to arouse much suspicion; however, a review of the excessive force complaints for the preceding five year period raises questions.

Records reveal that the Internal Investigations Bureau investigated a total of 121 excessive force complaints between 1960 and 1965 and concluded that none of the complaints could be sustained. The Bureau commander did indicate, however, that "...many civil suits had been initiated recently." He said that some of the judgments in the cases held the policeman liable, but the department had no records concerning any of these cases. The Captain said that the department did not believe any of the cases merited disciplinary action.

The local newspaper referred to the fact that in one

of these civil cases a judgment of $30,000 damage for brutality was granted against two officers. The mayor and safety manager indicated that if the appeal made by the officers was unsuccessful they would probably be "off the force". However, as far as the staff could determine at the time of this study, no disciplinary action had been taken and the men were definitely still employed as policemen, and this was nearly a year later.

The Department of City A had no complaints sustained when their report was initiated at the end of the year, but indicated that nine complaints were pending. The final disposition on these cases could not be determined and, although in Table IX they are considered as having been sustained, a partial report for the four months immediately following this report acknowledged ten cases pending and still none that had been sustained.

Next to Department C, which reportedly sustained 12.1% of the excessive force complaints received, Police Department D sustained the highest percentage of complaints alleging that officers used excessive force. As Table IX indicates, the Department sustained such complaints against their officers in 12 or 5.1% of the cases. Only one of the 231 cases, however, received a departmental trial and it is the only case where the discipline administered can be determined. This case was punished by a 15 day suspension.

One factor which made the situation in Department D unique was that 161 of the total 231 complaints of excessive force involve jail personnel. In Department B there were approximately 52 cases involving these people out of 330 complaints.

A report concerning police brutality in St. Louis appeared recently in The Police Chief. Apparently it was intended to show how a large number of their police brutality complaints are without merit.

> "Complaints...St. Louis reported that of 20 consecutive allegations of police brutality which Chief Brostron requested the American Civil Liberties Union to analyze, 16 were found to be without substance."[32]

Apparently the ACLU considered four cases or 25% of those reported to contain some "substance," which, in light of the fact that the department is not finding substance in even 5% of the excessive force complaints, would cause a reasonable man to question whether the analysis really supported the police department's position or not.

These statistical variances and discrepancies offer some indication of inadequate handling of complaints of misconduct on the part of policemen. The members of the staff observed several actual situations which are felt to indicate that misconduct may occur regularly in northern departments that are generally considered to be progressive.

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[32]IACP, "Copsules," The Police Chief, (June, 1965), p. 8.

One such case was reported by a staff member who was working with a motorized police patrol unit. The patrol was dispatched to handle a report of a "woman with a gun," and it arrived on the scene to find a Negro woman and her Caucasian neighbor arguing heatedly in the street. No gun was apparent. The Negro woman said the Caucasian had no business in her home "hanging around the men." The white woman contended that the Negro woman had no right to threaten her with a gun. A racially mixed group had gathered around the officer and the two women, who were standing in the center of the street.

The officer listened to the women for approximately five minutes before two more patrol units arrived. As his associates alighted from their vehicles, the first patrolman turned to them and in a voice loud enough for most people in the crowd to hear, advised them to return to patrol.

"F--k her," he said, "if she hadn't been over here laying those damn niggers, she wouldn't a got in this trouble."

Later that night the same patrolman responded with the staff member to a call for assistance from another policeman who had been dispatched to a reported disturbance at a predominantly Negro high school dance. On the way the officer explained that the area was a constant source of

trouble for the police and he called the people who live in the area "animals." The driver proceeded rapidly toward the scene with emergency equipment functioning. For about the last half mile the observer's vehicle followed three other police cars. The policeman slowed to about 25 to 30 m.p.h. as he neared his destination, and suddenly a 14-year-old Negro with a policeman close behind ran into the street directly in front of the police car. The officer driving the car reeled it sharply to the right as the youth attempted to turn back to the sidewalk. Both efforts were only partially successful and the boy struck the left front door of the police car a glancing blow and bounced off, continuing to run. The police car was stopped, and the driver jumped from the vehicle, nightstick in hand, and with two other officers took up the chase.

The staff member counted a total of eight police cars sitting at the scene with emergency lights operating. The street was entirely blocked until a police lieutenant arrived in a ninth police car and began to shut the emergency lights off and drive the cars to the curb. A dog unit then arrived and began to clear the sidewalks of the curious crowd.

About 15 minutes later the policeman returned and explained that an argument had started between two Negro boys in the dance. The first officer on the scene had ordered

all the youths out of the building. Several were reluctant to leave, whereupon the officer called for assistance. As the other officers were responding, the Negro who had run into the police car had been leaving the dance, and pushed the officer who had stopped the dance and ran.

The officer related that after a long chase the policemen had apprehended the youth. He said matter-of-factly, "I bet that nigger will never push another policeman."

He refused to elaborate and the observer was not afforded an opportunity to see the Negro boy.

The staff member points out that this patrolman was not an old-time officer who was employed prior to the use of sophisticated selection techniques. The officer was slightly over 26 years of age and had been employed by the police department less than five years. In addition, he was the member of an elite group of patrolmen that must have an average efficiency rating of 85% and demonstrate a high level of proficiency on a written examination.

Even though no actual physical brutality was observed in this case, the implications were present. At the scene of the incident the staff member overheard several statements by citizens disapproving of the tactics of the police, and expressing a conviction that the policemen would beat the Negro boy if he did not outrun them. The reactions by these

Negro citizens characterize the attitudes observed among many lower economic minority group communities throughout the country. The members of these communities expect unequal and brutal treatment from the police. Therefore any police action against their group, or members of their group, which is not obviously proper is generally suspected by them.

This fact can be documented by a number of reports on police community relationships. For example, one such report concerning Los Angeles which was written before the Watts riot said:

> "...The Committee cannot make any determination concerning alleged instances of police brutality and discriminatory enforcement of the law. However, the Committee reiterates that there are numerous people in the Los Angeles area who, with or without justification, believe that such incidents occur and this in itself is a problem of major proportions."[33]

In another report concerning the same region, the Los Angeles Human Relations Commission noted that existing in their city was a situation in which police-minority group attitudes have become "almost a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'." They said:

> "A significant and ever growing number of minority group persons are being led to feel that in any contact they have with police officers, they are going to be treated roughly. On the other hand, a growing

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[33]California Advisory Committee, Police-Minority Group Relations in the Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area, California, August, 1963, p. 11.

> number of law enforcement officers feel that in any contact they have with members of minority groups they are likely to meet resistance. These 'expectations' on the part of both groups are likely to produce what each expects.
>
> "We note that in several instances, police officers arrived at the scene of a disturbance with shotguns in hand; a clear indication of what the level of expectations are. The fact of the assembling of a large number of Negroes seems to inspire a feeling of uneasiness and trepidation on the part of officers, when, in fact, it is not unusual for citizens to congregate at the scene of an accident or alteration.
>
> "There appears to be a tendency on the part of minority group citizens to 'read into' a situation that which their expectations lead them to believe will occur.
>
> "We believe that the climate has deteriorated in the past several weeks between law enforcement and minority group communities. We feel that statements in support of law enforcement on one hand and of the minority groups on the other have contributed to this deterioration.[34]

This observation was also made before the Watts riot. The same type of warnings were made prior to riots in other cities. In Cleveland, Ohio, an investigation report made prior to the recent riot reads:

> "Over the last few years there have been persistent reports in newspapers and in other news media of widespread police brutality in the Negro communities... One civil rights leader stated: "Poliee brutality is the issue over which the community can explode at any time'."[35]

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Police-Community Relations (Cleveland: U.S. Civil Commission, April, 1966), p. 7.

Rumors and beliefs that create this type of atmosphere are present in most areas. Whether or not they represent actual conduct of the police can be questioned, but often the related circumstances and the mistakes made by the police provide fertile ground for the seeds of suspicion and further rumors.

For example, take a case from the West coast involving the death of a Negro. The Negro was shot after fighting with two off duty police officers in a restaurant. Other Negroes who had been summoned to the scene by the subject prior to the fracas and the firing of the shots claimed that one of the officers, whom they felt was drunk, had been referring to the deceased as "nigger" and indicating that he would like to shoot him. As a result, they said, the fight inside the restaurant occurred and ended. The two policemen allegedly then followed the Negroes outside after the fight where one of the officers fired several shots killing one of the Negroes.

One doctor testified before a coroner's jury that the officer who fired the fatal shot appeared intoxicated while a nurse said he did not. Both specialists indicated that the officer did, however, go to sleep while the doctor was suturing a laceration on the back of his head.

The coroner's jury ruled the homicide was excusable.

However, several unexplained aspects are used by some

people, particulary Negro citizens, to justify their suspicion of the police action. For example, why did the department allow the officers to continue working until 10 days after the incident before suspending them? Secondly, since the sobriety of the officers was in question, why was no sobriety test obtained? Thirdly, why was a "top echelon" officer demoted for "withholding evidence during trials" a month after the coroner's inquest?

The police department had little public comment on any of these questions.

In one city claims of brutality were accompanied by a report which was designed to prove the police department would discipline officers for misconduct which affects Negroes. This report was presented, with affidavits, to the city council. Some of the affidavits contained were supposedly made by a former police employee relating details of several deliberate police assaults on prisoners. A second, made by a Negro engineering physicist, claimed that he was beaten and abused by the police. A third swears that he was held incommunicado and beaten in a padded cell. It is alleged that the beating left the complainant with a broken jaw and loosened teeth. He also relates that the police accepted a complaint regarding the incident, but "bitterly denounced" him, "using obscene and filthy language for emphasis."

The report also notes that several civil actions, initiated against police officers for assaulting citizens, have been decided against the officers involved or have been settled by the officers out of court. In one case a Negro army sergeant charged a police officer with having pistol whipped him and obtained a conviction for third-degree assault. However, the patrolman was not disciplined in any manner by the police department.[36]

In 1953 a spokesman for the New York Legal Aid Society reported that of 8,300 defendants they represented in Felony Court, over one-third showed signs of police abuse.[37] A public defender in one city told of receiving an increasing number of complaints concerning police harassment of minority group members. The attorney claimed that when the person complains to the police department, the harassment increases. He said it takes the form of continual arrests for minor violations and constant identification checks, even though the officer obviously knows the person well. There appears to be some validity

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[36]This officer was eventually dismissed. He was alleged to have stopped a motorist and beaten him. The officer accused the man of going with hi wife and arrested him for resisting arrest. Two workmen along the street observed the incident and complained prior to the motorist making a complaint.

[37]Thomas R. Brooks, "Necessary Force--or Police Brutality," New York Times Magazine, (December 5, 1965), p. 63.

to the claims, he indicated, because the same officer will be the only person to have arrested the complainant in a number of cases, and when the defender's office contacts the officer and threatens legal action, the complainant often reports that the harassment stops.

In 1964 statistics taken in Detroit indicate that 1207 policemen were involved in altercations resulting in injury to 1,507 citizens. Of the citizens, 690 suffered face, scalp, eye, nose and jaw injuries. Of the 580 policemen who were injured, however, 303 suffered hand, knuckle, and finger injuries.[38] While these statistics are tenuous and should be viewed with caution, the implication of the nature of the injuries certainly raises questions regarding whether the policemen were injured in the process of beating the injured citizens.

During March, 1964, an officer in another city in civilian clothing, driving his personal vehicle, stopped another vehicle for a traffic violation. The driver and the officer both got out of their automobiles and argued. In an ensuing fight the policeman shot the citizen through the jaw. Witnesses, including a congressman, contradicted the officer's story of the incident and both the officer and the wounded citizen were charged with assault. The U. S. Attorney's officer negotiated the situation, and both indictments were

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[38]Brooks, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

dismissed and the officer returned to duty.

In another city a patrolman with 11 previous suspensions totaling 177 days over the previous 12 years shot and killed a man in a coffee shop in June, 1964. He claimed he was trying to get out the door after a fight had started inside. A departmental trial suspended the officer again for the 12th time. This time the charge was unnecessarily discharging his firearm.

In a large metropolitan police agency, the departmental records show that a Negro officer shot a 15-year-old white boy who was stealing gasoline. The officer was detailed to watch a truck after the owner reported missing gasoline. He observed two boys syphon the fuel from the truck and made his presence known. When the boys ran he fired, wounding one of the pair. The sergeant noted in his report of the incident that the shots could not be justified, but as of May, 1966 no disciplinary action was recorded in the officer's personnel records.

Another case involved a traffic officer who parked his motorcycle in the traveled portion of the street while he was writing a ticket for a parked car. A beer truck driver yelled as he passed the officer and called him a "dumb cop." This caused the policeman to pursue and stop the truck, parking his motorcycle in front of it. He ordered the driver out of the vehicle into the street. The

driver insisted that he had violated no law and refused to get out. The policeman pulled the driver from the truck, the truck rolled over the officer's motorcycle, and the officer abused the truck driver. The following day the court dismissed charges of disorderly conduct and resisting an officer that the policeman made against the citizen.

A newspaper clipping in the officer's personnel file indicated that the chief of police told the press that the officer would receive a reprimand; however, none appeared in his file.

Conclusion. The question remains as to how extensive the use of brutal force is in the United States. This cannot be answered on the basis of our data, but there can be no doubt that there is reasonable cause to believe that it exists. Sizeable segments of some communities believe so strongly that their group is the victim of widespread police brutality that it has become a reality to them.

The police have been meeting accusations of brutality only with counter accusations, and in some cases they have not made sufficient effort toward instilling an attitude of intolerance for brutality throughout their organizations. It is apparent that police departments cannot make a strong argument on the basis of their statistics, because most do not keep them and those that do cannot be certain that they represent anything near a complete accounting of all

instances of brutality.

Probably the strongest criticism that can be offered is that seldom is meaningful disciplinary action taken against officers guilty of one or more of the forms of brutality. The Michigan Civil Rights Commission recently indicated that disciplinary action taken by the Detroit Police Department in proven cases of brutality "show a practice of differential treatment" that will not deter future recurrence of such misconduct. Out of thirty-two such instances disciplinary action went beyond a written reprimand in only two oacasions.[39] Administrators must apply more stringent discipline to police misconduct in this area; in fact it is so serious to the community's support of the police and the damage it does to the society that the severest possible sanctions must be utilized to discipline those who are guilty.

The solution to the problem also partially lies in the improved selection and training of officers. Officers must be educated to recognize that brutality is as serious as corruption and incompetence and carries the onus of quick and certain punishment.

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[39]Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Report on Civil Rights Investigation of Claims Against Detroit Police Department (Detroit, Michigan: Civil Rights Commission, 1966).

In most areas the police administrators would be assisted by the adoption and enforcement of two legal tools:

1. Legislatures should forbid the use of unnecessary physical force by police officers by enacting felony statutes in place of the present misdemeanor provisions that regulate such conduct.[40]

This would serve two functions: (a) it would emphatically notify officers of the seriousness of the utilization of unnecesaary force and deter such conduct; and (b) it would obligate administrators to dismiss police officers who violate this law, thereby weeding this type of individual from the organization.

2. Administrators should immediately establish regulations with severe penalities forbidding verbal abuses that are inflammatory to certain groups of the community.

   Such rules may be designed along the lines of the Chicago, Illinois, departmental regulations regarding the conduct of policemen in this area. The Chicago General Order 66-9 states:

   "...At all times Departmental personnel will:
   1. never show any bias or prejudice against race, religion, or any other group or individual.
   2. act, speak, and conduct themselves in such a manner as to treat all persons with complete courtesy and with that respect due to every person as a human being.

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[40]Presently it is a felony for a citizen to resist any arrest in some jurisdictions, the most notable of which is California. Such a law will not seriously influence the police and community relationship nor will it deter assaults on police officers, but citizens should have equal protection against police misconduct in addition to the administrative need for the law. Attorney General Robert Kennedy recommended Federal legislation that would tighten Title 18, U.S.C., Section 242 in 1962. He
(Footnote continued on next page.)

3. never "talk down" to any group or individual or engage in the use of derogatory terms such as 'nigger,' 'boy,' 'spic,' 'wop,' 'kike,' 'chink,' 'shine,' 'burrhead' 'dago,' 'polack,' 'bohunk,' and the like...

This second action would serve notice that such conduct is most undesirable and it would enable firm appropriate disciplinary action.

It is imperative that police administrators take a strong stand against police officers who abuse their authority, provide education to change the attitudes of officers to prevent such abuses of authority, and dictate an atmosphere of intolerance for such conduct throughout the department.

A CRITIQUE OF EXISTING CONTROL METHODS

The most important person in the entire police and community relations picture is the individual police officer. His conduct and attitude toward the public are the primary causes of good or poor community relations.

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40 cont. suggested penalties of 5 years and a $5000 fine as maximum unless the abused person dies. In that case, he felt the penalty should be life (New York Times, March 21, 1962). There is value to considering a special unit outside the FBI that would be responsible solely for the processing and investigation of violations of civil rights by policemen.

One of our major concerns should be to obtain conduct from him that will enhance rather than injure the police and community relationship. There are two basic methods of doing this: (1) through education, by correcting, explaining, or retraining in an effort to insure the proper future conduct of the individual officer; and (2) through the discipline that is appropriate to produce a desired behavior, or to rid the organization of those who will not conform.

The first technique is the most desirable, but it requires a considerably longer period of time if it is to be effective. This period may have to be measured in years, and the state of police and community relations is presently such that time is of the essence. Therefore, since immediate improvement of the situation is required, it is vital to consider those mechanisims and techniques that have as their goal the conformity to acceptable patterns of behavior. Aside from self-control, supervision is at the heart of the problem and plays a similar role in all cities, therefore it will receive preliminary attention.

Supervision. The survey revealed a breakdown in the supervision of certain types of police misconduct. This seems to be attributable to an attitude of acceptance on the part of first line supervisors (sergeants primarily) of misconduct that is both improper and the trunk-root of police

and community frictions. The following situations are presented to illustrate the types of improper conduct that were observed. Although they are not all of the instances that were witnessed, they are representative of what exists in some areas.

> This case was observed about 9:30 p.m. in a large city police station. A subject about 22 years of age was brought handcuffed into the station. He was protesting the fact that one of the police officers who arrested him had 'sapped' him unnecessarily. In very abusive terminology, he called them 'brutal' and indicated that they were the 'type of people who have sexual relations with their mothers'. His head was bleeding from a slight cut at the temple, and the blood was dripping onto his shirt.
>
> About five or six police officers (approximately evenly divided--Caucasian and Negro) gathered around the subject. One pushed him back against the wall, and told him to "Shut up, and stand there". The subject continued to expend verbal abuse at the officers, but stood against the wall. The officers taunted the handcuffed man and challenged him to step out from the wall. This went on for about five minutes with a Negro shift commander looking on from a distance, and even though no physical violence was inflicted upon the subject, the situation was tense. The police appeared concerted in agitating the already irate prisoner.
>
> Finally, the commanding officer called one of the Negro officers down for using the term "mother f----r," and the other patrolmen moved back to doing their paperwork. At this point, the staff member left the room.

There can be little doubt that the arrestee's conduct in this case was trying for the police officers, but that does not excuse the supervisor negligence in permitting the officers to misbehave. The situation could have become very serious, even resulting in injury to either the citizen or

one of the officers if the subject had charged into the policemen swinging, or if he had grabbed for one of the officer's weapons.

In a second case the police apprehended a juvenile and transported him to the police station. They boy was taken to a private room in the police precinct headquarters and interrogated by an officer. During the questioning the policeman put on a glove and slapped the boy intermittently. A ranking officer entered the room, and his only comment was, "Who's that?" His primary concern was not that the policeman was illegally beating the boy, but that an outsider, the staff worker, was watching the situation.

The staff member was called aside by the ranking officer, after the policeman had explained his presence and said he was "okay." The officer let him know that while such conduct was not strictly "according to the book," it is sometimes necessary. At no time was the abusive officer criticized nor was he ordered to stop by the commander.

Another case may be dismissed as accidental, but it dramatized negligence that supervisors must strive to avoid. The reporter was with a patrolman when they came upon a crowd of people around a large Negro, apparently intoxicated, who was lying on the ground. The patrolman broke two capsules of some type of stimulant, presumably spirits of hartshorn (ammonia), and inserted one in each of the Negro's nostrils. The man jumped to his feet immediately, blood streamed from his nose down the front of his shirt, and the observer indicated that the crowd received a "good laugh".

Certainly supervisors should be alert for prisoners who bear signs of abuse, but sometimes, such as in this case, they are not.

Along with neglecting to detect and tolerating misconduct, some supervisors attempt to protect their subordinates from disciplinary action. One Chief indicated this very fact, when he noted the difficulties"...of getting sergeants

to stand up in Police Trial and testify that a policeman was indeed intoxicated on duty."

A staff member observed an instance of such protection by a sergeant of a large Southern department. In this case a Negro stopped the police supervisor with whom our staff member was riding. The Negro indicated that two officers had mistreated him earlier in the night and he wanted to make a formal complaint. Even though the department requires all officers to report complaints of misconduct, the supervisor suggested to the complainant that he was just going to cause everybody a lot of trouble. He recommended the whole thing be dropped because if it was not the complainant would have to miss a lot of work, etc., to pursue it. After listening to the supervisor, the complainant went on his way, and as far as the staff member knows, the complaint never received further attention.

Another example of discouraging complaints came out at the U. S. Civil Rights Commission hearing in Cleveland in April, 1966. A Cleveland Police Inspector was testifying before the Commission when a Commission Counsel inquired whether he ever asked complainants to take a lie detector test when he attempts to make a complaint against a police officer. The Inspector replied, "No."

The Commission Counsel indicated he had a letter from a member of the Commission's staff which alleged that the

Inspector said he told complainants that he expected them to take a lie test along with the police officer, and whoever appears to be lying would be punished. The Counsel asked, "Did you say that?"

The Inspector acknowledged that he had, but claimed he was only "joshing". It appears from a report made to the Commission that the Inspector was not completely honest. It should be expected that the threat of going to jail on the basis of a police administered lie detector test would cause many allegedly aggrieved to drop their complaints. Therefore, officers who should be disciplined for misconduct are not even investigated in some instances.

It is apparent that one of the weakest links in the internal control of the conduct of police personnel is the supervision, but, negligence in the control of personnel is not exclusively the fault of lower supervisors. In some instances the administrative levels have contributed equally by establishing improper procedures and organizational structures.

Since a great deal of variation exists among departments in the areas of complaint processing and disciplinary procedures, the topics will be covered in a general way and then three specific representative cases will be offered.

An Overview of Complaint and Disciplinary Procedures. Questionnaire returns from 57 police departments contained

responses relating to civilian complaints about police conduct. In Table X this information is presented regarding the use of special units to receive, record, and investigate complaints against police officers and is compared with similar information recently accumulated in a survey by the National League of Cities.

TABLE X

PROCESSING CIVILIAN COMPLAINTS

	Study Survey Data* n=57		National League of Cities Data** n=395	
	Number	%	Number	%
No special unit for civilian complaints	27	47.3	114	28.8
Have a special unit for civilian complaints	29	50.8	191	48.3
No Answer or Other	1	1.7	90	22.8

*Source: Mail questionnaire responses.

**Source: Department of Urban Studies, National League of Cities, Mail questionnaire responses.

Both of these surveys indicate that about half of the police departments answering have some special unit which records and investigates complaints against police officers. However, due to the large number of cities that failed to

respond or listed some other method of handling complaints on the National League of Cities' questionnaire, it it difficult to determine the proportion of cities that have no special unit to record and investigate such complaints. Since the data received by the staff tended to over-represent larger cities, it is fair to assume that the proportion of cities with units would drop appreciably if the sample were more representative thereby including smaller cities. Also there is reason to suspect that cities failing to respond to the NLC survey question would tend tofall in the category of cities without special internal investigation units. Therefore, it appears reasonable to assume that about as many departments have special units for complaints as do not have them, and that less than 5% of the departments have their complaints handled in some other manner.

The concept of a special unit fails to show the total picture, though. The descriptions of the units that the departments utilize for recording and investigating complaints show that organizationally they are far from similar (see Table XI). Only 15 out of the 57 cities have an actual internal investigation unit charged solely with the task of complaints. The cities that have such units are generally larger, with no responding city under 25,000 having such a unit.

TABLE XI

TYPE OF UNITS UTILIZED TO PROCESS COMPLAINTS*

Units	Departments Responding	
	Number	%
Personnel	2	6.6
Internal Investigation	15	50.0
Bureau of Staff Services	5	16.6
Community Relations	2	6.6
Other	6	20.0

*Total of 29 "Yes" and 1 "Other" responses answered this question.

The information presented in Table XII indicates that 19 police departments have some type of external advisory or review unit which has some power to investigate certain types of complaints against police officers or the police department. The most startling thing about this is that more of the police departments responding to the questionnaire have some type of civilian review of complaints (19) than have internal investigation units (15), (Table XIII).

The 27 organizations indicating in response to the questionnaire that they had no special internal or external unit with the responsibility for processing citizen complaints tended to include: (1) State Police organizations; (2) city departments in cities below 75,000 population; and (3) Southern departments (Table X). In most cases they indicated that either the chief of police (or chief administrator) handled the complaints personally or he assigned

them to individual officers for investigation.

TABLE XII

CITIES WITH MUNICIPAL OR STATE BOARDS
FOR HANDLING CITIZEN COMPLAINS
AGAINST THE POLICE*

Type of Civilian Unit	Who Investigates Complaints	Can Agency Enforce Disciplinary Action?
Human Relations		
Hartford, Conn.	N.A.	No
Aurora, Ill.	N.A.	No
Fort Wayne, Ind.**	The Agency	Yes
Indianapolis, Ind.**	The Agency	Yes
Minneapolis, Minn.	Police Dept	No
Jersey City, N. J.	Police Dept	No
Syracuse, N. Y.	N.A.	N.A.
Kansas City, Mo.**	Police Dept	No
Yonkers, N. Y.	The Agency	No
Buffalo, N. Y.	N.A.	No
Topeka, Kansas	The Agency	No
Rochester, N. Y.	The Agency	No
Elizabeth, N. J.	N.A.	No
Civil Rights		
Kansas Highway Patrol	The Agency	No
Detroit, Michigan**	The Agency	Yes
Toledo, Ohio	The Agency	No
Tampa, Florida	N.A.	No
Review Board		
San Jose, Calif.	The Agency	No
Washington, D.C.	Police Dept	No
Rochester, N. Y.	The Agency	No

*Source: Mail questionnaires - 57 police departments reporting.

**Denotes a State agency for handling complaints.

TABLE XIII

CITIES LISTING INTERNAL INVESTIGATION UNIT
FOR HANDLING CITIZEN COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE POLICE*

City	Citizen Units Also?
1. Tucson, Arizona	No
2. Mountain View, Calif.	No
3. Oakland, Calif.	No
4. Jacksonville, Florida	No
5. Atlanta, Georgia	No
6. Evansville, Indiana	Yes**
7. Boston, Mass	No
8. Detroit, Michigan	Yes**
9. Syracuse, N. Y.	Yes
10. Toledo, Ohio	Yes
11. Dayton, Ohio	No
12. Kansas City, Mo.	Yes**
13. Washington, D.C.	Yes**
14. Buffalo, N. Y.	Yes
15. Rochester, N. Y.	Yes

*Source: Mail questionnaires.
**Denotes a state or Federally controlled citizen's complaint unit.

Departments with internal units for handling complaints indicate a wide variation in the rank of the officer who commands the unit and the position of the officer to whom that unit commander reports (Table XIV). A majority, 58.6%, of the units have commanders of division level rank. The commander in nearly all cases (82.7%) reports directly to the Chief or Commissioner of Police regardless of the Commander's rank. None of these departments reported that their unit was commanded by non-sworn commanders.

TABLE XIV

COMMAND OF INTERNAL COMPLAINT PROCESSING UNIT*

	Unit Commander's Rank		Unit Commander Reports To	
Rank or Command Position	Number	%	Number	%
1. City official above police chief (mayor, city manager, Assistant and City Manager, etc.)	0	0	1	3.4
2. Chief of Police (Commissioner)	2	6.8	24	82.7
3. Division level (Inspector, Capt., etc.)	17	58.6	2	6.8
4. Unit or Bureau level (Capt., Lieut., etc.)	7	24.1	1	3.4
5. First Line (Sgt.)	2	6.8	0	0
6. No Answer	1	3.4	1	3.4

*Source: Mail Questionnaires (n=29)

The responses to the mail questionnaires show that the chief does not always have the power to decide the disposition of a complaint (Table XV). In 37 cities (64.9%) the final decision can be made by the chief,[41] and in 20 cities the final decision can be made by other persons. Table XV summarizes the mail questionnaire data concerning the final disposition of citizen complaints.

It is interesting that the police departments either would not notify the person who complained of the disposition

[41]This is aside from the possibility of appeal to a civil service commission or civil court where the action may be overruled.

TABLE XV

DISPOSITION OF CITIZEN COMPLAINTS*

A. Who Determines Final Disposition?			B. Is Complainant Notified of Disposition?						C. Does the Public Have Access to Investigation reports?					
			Yes**		No		No Ans.		Yes		No		Limited"	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Chief Executive of Gov.	1	1.7	50	87.7	3	5.2	4	7.0	22	36.8	32	56.1	6	10.5
Public Safety Director	2	3.5												
Police Board over Chief	2	3.5												
Police Trial Board (Dept.)	7	12.2												
Chief of Police	37	64.9												
Division or Unit Commander	6	10.5												
No Answer	2	3.5												

*Source: Mail Questionnaires (N=57)

**Out of the 50 departments responding "yes", 41 (7% of all respondents) indicated that disposition has been made.

***Three of the respondents marked both "yes" and "limited". Usually the departments indicating "limited access" said only the "news media" had access or that access is possible only with a "court order".

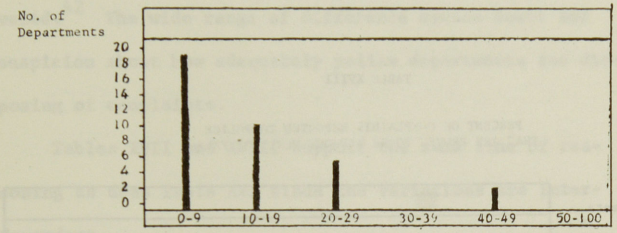
of his complaint, or will notify him only upon specific request at the end of the process, as was the case in seven (12.2%) of the departments responding (Table XV). In addition 32 (56.1%) of the departments permit no public acess to the investigation reports and six (10.5%) departments allow only limited public access. This means that 66.6% of the communities where departments answered the questionnaire have practically no way of evaluating the way that their police departments are handling civilian complaints against police officers. They are forced to base impressions either on what the police say or what rumors they hear in the community. This practice certainly contributes to establishing the atmosphere of suspicion that exists in some segments of the community.

Table XVI, XVII, and XVIII, contain a summary of the overall validity of complaints as reported by police departments. The graphs are broken down by the number of departments reporting percentages within 10-point ranges in the areas of complaints proven to be valid and therefore sustained, proven to be without basis and false, or not subject to proof or disproof, therefore unsustained.

As in the previous section on brutality, the statistics show a wide range of distribution in each area. Approximately 5% of the reporting departments indicated that around 40 to

TABLE XVI

PERCENT OF COMPLAINTS REPORTED TO POLICE THAT ARE SUSTAINED*



* Source: Mail Questionnaires

TABLE XVII

PERCENT OF COMPLAINTS REPORTED TO POLICE
THAT CANNOT BE PROVEN TRUE OR UNTRUE

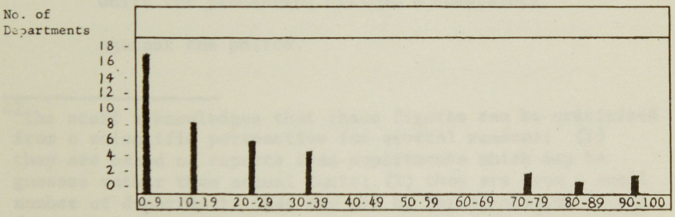
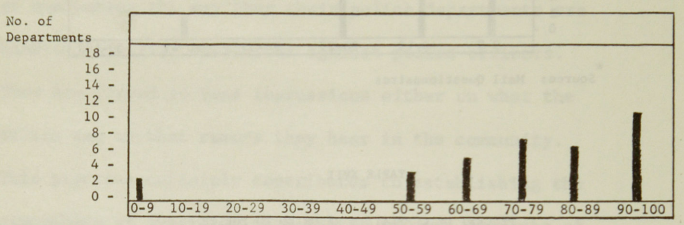


TABLE XVIII

PERCENT OF COMPLAINTS REPORTED TO POLICE
THAT ARE PROVEN TO BE WITHOUT MERIT OR FALSE



50 of every 100 complaints they received are found to be based on merit and sustained. However, approximately 50% of the responding departments indicated that less than 10 out of every 100 complaints they received were valid.[42] The wide range of difference causes doubt and suspicion about how adequately police departments are disposing of complaints.

Tables XVII and XVIII support the same line of reasoning as does Table XVI since the variations are interdependent.

In conclusion to this overview several observations appear pertinent:

1. There appear to be about an equal number of departments that have and do not have internal units for processing citizen's complaints against the police.

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[42]The staff acknowledges that these figures can be criticized from a scientific perspective for several reasons: (1) they are based on reports from departments which may be guesses rather than actual facts; (2) they are from a small number of departments that may not be representative of all departments; and (3) departments may have differing methods of recording complaint statistics which would cause some of the variations. However, this is the most complete data available to us and it is the same type of data that the public must rely upon for its conclusions and, therefore, we believe it to be useful for this report.

2. More departments indicated the existence of some type of advisory group for processing certain types of complaints against them than had actual specialized internal investigation units whose only function is the processing of citizen complaints.
3. One-half of the departments with external advisory units also had internal investigation units which indicates the two can function together.
4. The chief of police decides what the final disposition of complaints will be in only 64.9% of the departments.
5. Records concerning complaints are only open to the public in about 36% of the departments, and only in a few departments (5.2%) is the complainant permitted to see the records of the investigator or receive information of the disposition of his complaint.
6. There is such a wide variation in the disposition of complaints that the public at times has cause to suspect that the police may not always be handling their complaints properly.

In regard to this last observation, the staff saw indications that some police departments are not only not interested in removing officers who abuse certain segments

of the public, but are deliberately discouraging complaints about them. Some of these have been referred to earlier in the preceding section on supervision, but one other report is very illustrative of another practice.[43]

According to this report in 1962 the Washington, D.C. Police Department filed charges against 40% of all persons who attempted to complain of police misconduct or abuse. The charge used was filing a false report with the police, and out of 41 complaints filed with the police 16 persons were arrested. At the same time citizens alleged that crimes had been committed on 33,593 occasions and only 101 of these complainants were arrested. This equals .003 percent of the total complaints of crimes where the complainant was arrested. Some people wonder if the 40% figure in the first instance was deliberately high to discourage complaints about policemen.

The indications of lack discipline are apparent in the differences in the number of citizen complaints sustained by police departments. Administrators who believe that generally the discipline is firm enough in most cities should look at the situation in England. A 1960 document reports:

43National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union, A Proposed Revision of the System for Processing Civilian Complaints Against Police Misconduct in the District of Columbia, (mimeographed), Washington, June, 1964, p. 17.

> "Proceedings...were brought against 945 members of county and borough police forces during the year, including 6 policewomen; 845 were found guilty. The majority of these cases were for comparatively minor offenses, such as unpunctuality or neglect of duty; 317 (including 4 policewomen) were dealt by caution; 177 by reprimand; and 261 by fine. Of the remaining 90 cases, 19 were punished by reduction of pay, 4 by reduction in rank, 34 by being required to resign as an alternative to dismissal, and 33 (including one policewoman) by dismissal."[44]

One author points out an interesting fact about the British Policemen that sets them apart from their American counterparts:

> "...several chief constables and a majority of policemen would in fact welcome them (independent civilian advisory boards) to convince the public that justice is being seen to be done. The chief constable, who holds the inquiry under the present system, is in the invidious position of being at the same time judge and jury and of having initiated the prosecution, as well as begin a quasi-defendent because he is responsible for the state of the force. Some police officers would prefer the inquiry to have an independent chairman because a chief constable often has personal views on each of his men."[45]

One cannot help but wonder how much the high conviction rate influenced the English officer's preference for civilian review boards rather than departmental hearings.

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[44]Home Office, Report of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary, 1960 (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1961), p. 10.

[45]Ben Whitaker, Police, (Middlesex, England: Cox and Wyman, Ltd., 1964), p. 150.

Disciplinary Machinery in Cincinnati, Ohio. This department is representative of most organizations without any special unit solely for processing citizen complaints. Chief Stanley Schrotel indicated that he has avoided developing a special unit for this work because it tends to "polarize" the situation, and he believes that the disciplinary function should rest with the supervisors rather than a special unit.

A citizen can initiate a complaint by calling any district command, the Chief, or the Public Safety Director. While the original complaint can be made orally the complainant may be required later to put it in writing. The complaint is not recorded on any central docket or filed in any particular area. The emphasis is upon settling complaints at the lowest possible level in the chain-of-command. There are no guidelines upon who has authority in what situation, and the officer receiving the complaint must decide for himself whether it is too serious for him to handle. In situations where the complaint is made to the Chief, Public Safety Director, or a district commander, it is referred to the district commander of the accused officer who decides what action to initiate. Serious cases are discussed with the Chief of Police, rather informally, prior to making any decisions on action. In instances where a case has received public attention or where

it could result in complications, it is discussed among top staff members either informally or in one of the frequent regular staff meetings. If a district commander determines that a complaint can be handled by the immediate supervisor of the accused officer he informs the supervisor who is expected to investigate the complaint and take disciplinary action if it is warranted. In some instances, the district command may feel that a special investigation is necessary and he will assign the complaint to one of his officers who will investigate it, take statements, and report his findings to the commander.

The report is ordinarily forwarded to the personnel officer, who reviews the case, and files it in the accused officer's personal folder. According to the personnel officer if a complainant is not satisfied by the action of the district commander, he can appeal to the Chief, who will review the case.

One additional practice was recently implemented for cases involving allegations of "Violations of Civil Rights." This consists of a duplicate investigation by an Inspection Bureau. However, this arrangement was established early in 1966 and had not been used at the time of the staff's visit to the department.

According to a Citizen Complaint Procedure pamphlet, prepared by the police department, "If the investigation (by the department) shows that grounds for a reasonable

assumption of misconduct on the part of the police officer exists, it will present the case before the Police Board of Inquiry."[46] The personnel officer indicates that while this is true, the actual practice does not strictly follow this course. He indicated that under ordinary circumstances if the complainant can be satisfied prior to holding a formal departmental trial this is done and the case is disposed of. If, however, the complainant, or at times the officer involved, is not satisfied and insists on a formal hearing, it is arranged. In 1965, five Boards of Inquiry were held.

The Board of Inquiry is composed of the Commander of the Personnel Bureau (or his representative), who conducts the examination of witnesses; a commander of a district other than the one in which the accused officer works; a lieutenant or sergeant from another district; and a patrolman. It reviews any investigation reports related to the case, hears witnesses, and determines if the evidence is sufficient to indicate that the officer violated his responsibilities. When appropriate the Board can assess a penalty up to a suspension, however, any decision of penalty in excess of this must be referred to the Chief of Police for action.

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[46]Division of Police, "Citizen Complaints", Cincinnati: Department of Safety, undated.

According to the Commander of the Personnel Bureau, the major shortcoming of the Board is its lack of power to command witnesses to appear and testify. He said: "Several people (citizens) have refused to appear for hearings, and this is their right."

Complainants appearing before the Board have a right to review statements taken by the police prior to the hearing, to retain counsel who can appear with them, and to cross-examine witnesses who have been permitted to testify by the Board. This does not mean that the Board is required to hear all witnesses, although it has never, to the Personnel Bureau Commander's memory, refused anyone permission to testify.

Until the present year, once a decision had been made by the Board a citizen's only appeal was in the courts. This was changed in early 1966 to allow for an appeal to the Safety Director, the civilian head of the police department who is an ex-Assistant Chief of the Cincinnati Police Department. If this official decides to afford a complainant a hearing, it is conducted "de novo" with all interested parties present. The testimony is taken under oath, and when possible the Assistant City Manager and the City Solicitor also sit at the appeal hearing. The group has the power to determine the disposition of any case that comes before them, and their decision is final unless overruled

by: (1) the Civil Service Commission or (2) the civil courts.

The right of a citizen to appeal to the public safety director had never been utilized prior to the time when the staff was in Cincinnati in March, 1966.

Both the Chief of Police and the Commander of the Personnel Bureau acknowledged that the system is not perfect, but the department is striving to improve it. The personnel officer stated the procedure was "adequate to handle all complaints coming to the attention of the department."

Disciplinary Machinery in Chicago, Illinois. Upon assuming command of the Chicago Police Department in 1960, O. W. Wilson established the Internal Investigation Division to investigate complaints against members of the department as well as improper practices of officers detected in other manners.[47] The Internal Investigation Division is subordinate to the Bureau of Inspectional Services and is composed of five sections: the Complaint Section, General Investigation Section, Special Investigation Section, Classified Investigation Section, and the Department Advocate Section.

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[47] Peter Wyden, "He Makes Cops Come Clean", Saturday Evening Post, August 12, 1961, p. 69.

The Complaint Section receives, records, assigns, reviews, and files all complaints reported to it. If may also reinvestigate cases that have been completed to determine if they have been adequately investigated.

All alleged or suspected violations of laws, ordinances, or departmental regulations must be reported to the Complaint Section within an established time limit regardless of who receives them or where they are received. This section then enters the information in a register and assigns it to another section of the Division for investigation.

Access to the Disciplinary Register is limited to only persons with a need to know as specified by the Superintendent of Police, and a list of persons authorized to inspect its contents is on the cover for reference and security. In 70% of the complaints the investigation is performed by the district personnel where the accused officer is employed, therefore supporting the premise that discipline is a function of command.

About 30% of the complaints are investigated by the various sections of the Internal Investigations Division. Regardless of where the investigation is made, the investigation report recommends an appropriate disposition, and if the accused officer and the Superintendent of Police are in agreement with the disposition recommended it is carried out without a disciplinary trial. However, when the discipline involves more than a 30-day suspension, when the accused

officer requests a hearing, or when the Superintendent directs a hearing, the accused is provided with a departmental trial.

The Disciplinary Board is composed of three officers of the rank of Captain or above. The decision it makes is based entirely upon reports and documentary evidence submitted and it is forwarded to the Superintendent as suggested discipline. The complainant has no right to testify at these hearings nor to even be present. He cannot cross-examine witnesses and must depend entirely upon the police department to present his complaint.

Once the Superintendent receives the advice of the Disciplinary Board, he reviews the investigations and decisions, and decides whether the recommendations are appropriate. He may change them in any manner he wishes, and then forwards his opinion to the Chicago Police Board.

This Board is composed of five citizens appointed by the mayor to oversee the operations of the Department. The case is presented to it by the City Counsel, and the five members sit as a review board to determine the appropriateness of the discipline. The accused officer is entitled to appear in his own defense with counsel if he chooses. Although at the present time the Police Board relies entirely upon the Department for cases, it is within its power to review complaints coming directly from citizens.

When the Board reaches a decision, it is transmitted to the Superintendent who must implement it or face reprisals from the Board which has the power to recommend his removal to the mayor.

The complaining citizen has only a limited role as the Department assumes his part as soon as possible. This is an advantage from the point of preventing the complainant from being inconvenienced, but once the Department decides he is wrong he has recourse only to the courts. There is no present procedure by which the complainants can appeal if they wish to pursue a complaint after the Department has reached a conclusion. Neither is there any way that a citizen can be sure that he can be heard nor can he cross-examine witnesses in his own behalf unless granted permission by the Department.

For one to point to this system as a perfect example of a system without external review of citizen complaints is not valid, because the Police Board is in essence a civilian review agency. It would be entirely possible for this Board to hear citizen complaints if it was so disposed, and to enforce the Superintendent's compliance with its decisions. It might also be noted that the Superintendent has been referring completed investigations of complaints of unlawful force to a respected member of the bar. This individual reviews the investigation and returns it to the

Department with recommendations as to the thoroughness and propriety. This is also done in an effort to strengthen citizen confidence.

Disciplinary Machinery in Philadelphia. This police department has two separate systems by which complaints against police officers can be heard. The first is an internal system that is established by departmental regulations. The second is a civilian agency established as an advisory group to the mayor by executive order. This arrangement is utilized by only a few cities throughout the country.

Internally, routine complaints are processed by the Commissioner's Complaint Clerk. He is responsible for coordinating the handling of the complaint. The complaint clerk assigns a serial number, notifies the district or unit commander via telephone, and enters the complaint into his "tickler file."

The commanding officer of accused personnel is responsible for conducting a thorough investigation of any violation of the Penal Code and/or departmental regulations. It is also his function to prepare and submit a complete written report. The accused member of the department must fill in a departmental form. Assuming the circumstance warrants a hearing, the responsibility falls to the Departmental Board of Inquiry.

Confidential complaints are handled directly from the Chief Inspector's Office of the branch involved, i.e., uniformed or detective.

The Citizens Advisory Board was established after the community became alarmed over the lack of department action on apparently legitimate complaints about police abuse. Spencer Cox, an ACLU official who was at least partially instrumental in the establishment of the Board, told the staff that prior to the Board "...there was not one instance of punishment for officers who abused citizens for several previous years".

The Board is charged with entertaining complaints from citizens alleging brutality, discrimination, or a violation of constitutional rights. It is staffed by eight members who are appointed and serve at the pleasure of the mayor. Complaints can be filed free of charge and are forwarded to the police department for investigation. All parties involved are provided with counsel if they so request, and the hearings are conducted in accordance with the rules of evidence in Pennsylvania.

The staff found general support for the Board outside the police department. With exception to the F.O.P., which violently opposes the Board, there is an indifferent attitude toward it by departmental administrators.

The community leaders who support the Board indicate that while there have not been a large number of convictions

by the Board, members of the community are now more confident of getting a fair hearing.

Most civil libertarians point to the fact that the Board of Inquiry is now making a greater effort to conduct hearings in a fair and impartial manner than ever before.

The President of the Fraternal Order of Police, John Harrington, indicated that the Board is "...one of the worst things a politician could yield to. It causes crime to greatly increase because police hesitate and look the other way instead of doing their duty."

In Harrington's opinion, "Review Boards are nothing more than a way for politicians to get minority group votes."

Philadelphia's Public Defender said, "in actuality it does very little, but it serves as a caution for police and an outlet for police caused frustrations of the people."

Summary of Reception Inadequacies. Departments handling the disciplinary function without a centralized unit for receiving, recording, investigating, and adjudicating complaints against their officers may be operating on a theoretically sound administrative concept by charging the supervisor with as much disciplinary authority and discretion as is possible so that he can carry out his responsibilities. However, in practice the human element causes this method to have weaknesses which have a detrimental impact upon community relations.

In cities where the police department had no requirements regarding the centralized recording of complaints, records concerning complaints were skimpy and/or inaccurate. Neither the administration of the departments nor the public could make an accurate appraisal of the adequacy of the system. Instances of misconduct were observed by supervisors who took no corrective action. On several occasions records of known disciplinary actions that had been initiated in the recent past were missing from the personnel folders or other places where they were supposed to have been filed. In one specific instance an officer had shot a juvenile who had committed a misdemeanor in his presence. The supervisor who investigated the incident noted in his report that the shooting was "unjustified" and yet no record could be located that indicated any disciplinary action and the officer was still working in the same position. The annual report concerning the use of force for this organization regarding the use of force contained a section of shots fired, and it says, "No abuse indicated on the part of any officer".

In organizations with central reception points, as well as those without, where the procedure was vague or unforced, there was a tendency to discourage complaints against police officers. These techniques ranged from suggesting that if the complaint was proven to false the

complainant would be prosecuted, to openly advising the complainant that if he refused to take a polygraph examination administered by the department that his complaint would not be accepted nor investigated. In some cases the department required that the complaint be written in the hand of the accusor as well as sworn to by him. An organization that has a policy that results in the discouragement of complaints is damaging community relations.

Summary of Investigation Inadequacies. The investigation of complaints is handled in several ways depending upon the organization. The two most common are: (1) assignment of complaints to a special unit that investigates for the chief or other administrative official and (2) permitting a line supervisor to handle the situation and make the decisions concerning who investigates. As previously indicated approximately one-half of the organizations surveyed did not have a special unit for investigating police misconduct. This was due in some instances to the size of the organization, where such a unit simply could not be justified, but in some larger departments, administrators indicated that they believed that the assignment of this function to a line supervisor, or to the detective unit. Such assignment, however, is not wholly adequate, even in the smallest departments, because of its arbitrary and

bureaucratic nature, which tends to cause a toleration of improper conduct, and to result in the neglect of the investigation of legitimate civilian complaints. In those departments where it was utilized, there were few accurate records regarding the number or the nature of the complaints that the department received. This made research and analysis in the area unwieldy, if not impossible.

The value of this system is also more limited than that of an internal unit, or one person specifically assigned as in some small departments, because of the relationship between officers who may be performing the work. For example, an investigator assigned from a line agency to investigate a complaint about an officer of equal rank cannot avoid an awareness of the fact that the officer whom he is investigating may be doing an investigation on a complaint about him in the future. Even if the investigation is performed with total objectivity, the system lends itself to more suspicion than a system utilizing a specialized unit or person for the same purpose.

Aside from these reasons, such a system makes secrecy, sometimes needed when investigating employees, very difficult. For example, in cases involving dishonest employees, who does the chief assign to investigate? How does the chief maintain close supervision over the investigation if he must involve the usual chain-of-commanders? What happens

when the chief pulls an officer out of a unit and places this officer in a position reporting directly to him. Is it likely to cause speculation and rumors throughout the department?

One undesirable practice is to assign the investigation to officers who work days only. This means that if the complainant is unfortunate enough to work days, too, he will probably be contacted at his place of employment on several occasions. This can cause repercussions and in some instances has resulted in loss of the complainant's job. While it may be exaggerated to claim this happens often, the effect of two police officers calling on a complainant and removing him from his work on four or five different occasions, particularly if they refuse to disclose to the employer why they are questioning him, certainly would discourage complaints and injure the police reputation. In at least one city this practice is made more offensive by the investigators using marked automobiles to call several times on the complainant at his home.

This also can be used in reverse. In some places the police, immediately upon receipt of a complaint, call upon the officer involved and inform him of the complaint. This means that the officer is caused immediate worry over a complaint that may be false. In addition, it is claimed

that it provides him with an opportunity to think about excuses, intimidate witnesses and to arrange a false story to conceal his guilt. The accused officer might well be contacted only after completing other investigative phases, thereby removing some of these possibilities for criticism.

One fact that became apparent in the process of the study is that, in most organizations, there exists a considerable amount of difference between the organizational procedures and the actual procedures used by the people in the organization. Therefore, it is imperative that strict observance of departmental regulations should be enforced at all times, and particular attention should be given to procedural and supervisional aspects in the complaint investigation.

In regard to the question of who should investigate complaints against the police, there are conflicting views. One contention was that the investigators of police misconduct should be civilians who are not responsible to the police department. Another view was that the police be responsible for the investigation. The staff observed no instances where complaints against the police were not originally investigated by officers sworn as policemen. The caliber of work that was done varied in objectivity from organization to organization, with some of it completely

inadequate and some excellent. This was primarily dependent upon the attitudes of the supervisors and the investigators. There was little evidence to support the conclusion that a group of investigators external to the police department would perform the job any more objectively. However, there is considerable evidence that indicates that most organizations need to improve the supervision of investigators to insure that the complaints will be handled more adequately.

Throughout this report, the staff has stressed the seriousness of civilian complaints about the police and the effect of these complaints upon the contemporary community relations situation. Since this is one of the pressing problems, in fact probably the most pressing in some larger cities, it must receive special handling from the administrator. If, while members of certain segments of the community are strongly attesting to the fact that they do not trust the available organizational machinery for controlling police personnel, the administration continues to insist on maintaining the status quo for complaint machinery, serious trouble may be in store for the organization. Yet this appears to be exactly what is happening in a number of police organizations. With the existing minority group distrust, disrespect, and lack of confidence in the police, and with the most common

criticism of the police being their failure to properly investigate and discipline their own, police administrators who continue to insist that the familiar traditional way is the ultimate are only contributing to increased friction and tension and to deteriorating community relations.

Complaint Adjudicating Inadequacies. There exists a widespread distrust of the internal police trial procedures by the major minority groups around the country. This lack of confidence is present primarily in communities composed of Negroes, Latin Americans, migrants from rural and foreign areas, and lower economic groups of the country. The police must, therefore, make a special effort to design the trial procedure to insure a system that will eliminate any reason for a lack of confidence on the part of these groups.

One of the most common weaknesses of this phase of the process is the power of the departmental trial unit to arbitrarily deny a complaining citizen the right to a hearing without providing any justification or reason why this is being denied.

In most instances where the citizen is afforded the opportunity to present his complaint and supporting evidence to a departmental trial board, he is required to provide his own counsel at his own expense or, as an alternative, attempt

to present the case himself. He is often restricted by the right of the hearing board to decide what witnesses they wish to hear, and in at least one department, the board at times chose to hold a trial without allowing the person claiming to have been offended to testify. The influences of such practices on the complainant's conception of the system are apparent. It is not surprising that one citizen asked a staff member, "How in the heck can I get a fair hearing when I can't even explain what happened to the board?"

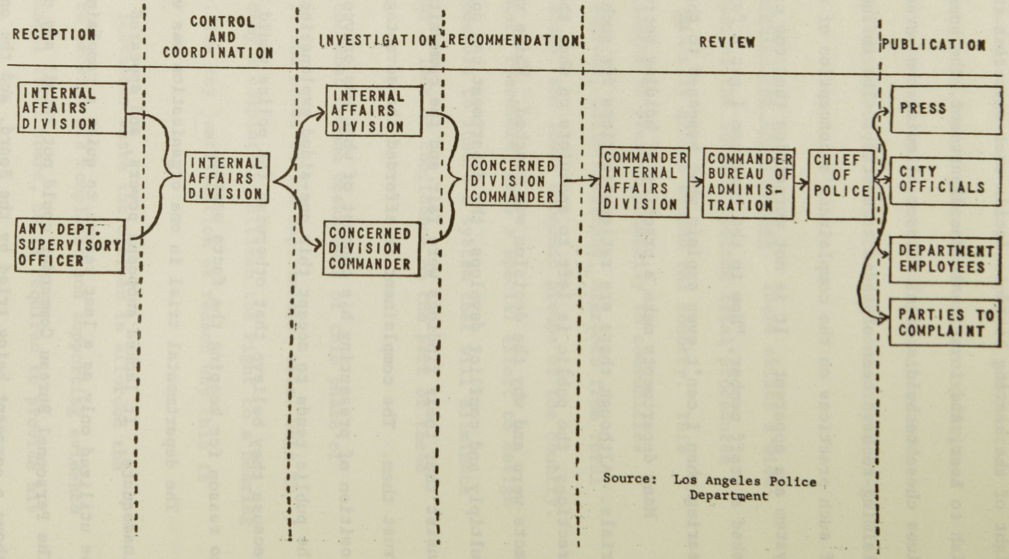
Many departments make a practice of holding secret trials. Although there are rationalizations for such practices, the public is left to speculate on what the facts were and why the decision was reached. While rumors multiply and conflict develops, the department can only insist that their findings were fair and the community should trust them. The complainant is afforded the advantageous position of presenting his concept of what was proven, and the public tends to accept this one-sided explanation because they believe that otherwise the police would have no reason for keeping the facts secret.

The departmental trial in one organization was very inadequate. It lacked subpoena powers, and appeared to be utilized only as a last resort to quiet a complainant. The Personnel Bureau Commander could not recall any officer above a sergeant being tried by the Board, and the one

AN EXAMPLE OF

THE INTERNAL HANDLING AND

INVESTIGATION OF PERSONNEL COMPLAINTS



Source: Los Angeles Police Department

sergeant tried within the past five years was accused of misconduct while off duty.

The records of one officer reviewed indicated that he had been promoted to sergeant recently. His file also contains the following accumulated over an eight year span:

Commendations:

6 - for services he provided the public (letters primarily).
4 - for excellent arrests.

Complaints:

2 - violations of departmental rules and a law.
1 - use of undue force.
4 - allegations of discourtesy.
2 - failure to pay bills.

Boards of Inquiry:

2 - both from above complaints. No dispositions recorded in the file.

One of the things that makes this unusual is that the odds for an officer ever appearing before a Board of Inquiry are tremendous since only approximately five are held each year and since there are over 600 officers on the department, yet this officer appeared twice without it affecting his chance for promotion. Additionally it is amazing that no record of the dispositions of the cases was in his file.

It appears that providing fair and impartial hearings are not in and of themselves sufficient either. In some places the machinery is quite adequate, but the complicated procedures and time-comsuming red tape is as real a barrier to complainants as would be the total absence of a system.

There are several reasons for this: (1) the organizational arrangements are complex, both geographically, in some cases, and structurally, in others; (2) information about the system may be denied the general public; (3) there may be excessive procedural complexities; and/or (4) there may be a lack of supervision of the personnel of the system. Any one of these factors is sufficient to discourage a complainant and convince him that the organization really does not wish to give him a realistic, impartial hearing.

Techniques for Evaluating Complaint Machinery. In practically all cities studied, the chief police administrators recognized the need for some system to process complaints, but few admitted to a recognition of the fact that certain situations required special and exceptional procedures to insure the maintenance of public confidence. This is not to imply that there is a one "best" way or system for all communities nor for all police departments. The social, economic, and demographic characteristics of communities vary and thus mandate differences in the procedures that should be used. The size, type and kind of personnel, and the budgets of police departments vary and make differences in the procedures necessary. Finally, there are historical and legal conditions that differ from area to area, and these must be given consideration. Therefore, the administrator must realize that the success of his organization, in adequate complaint processing, depends not so much upon

having standardized techniques or machinery as upon the existing circumstances and situation. He must be flexible and base decisions about the proper procedure on objective evaluation of what is best under the existing conditions.

There are guidelines to assist the administrator in testing the adequacy of his present system, as well as to test innovations. It is apparent, however, that these guidelines depend upon responses obtained from the community. It is safe to conclude that the machinery is adequate if the following questions can be answered in the affirmative; but if they cannot there is room for improvement.

The checkpoints are:

1. Is there policy or law requiring that all complaints reported be recorded at a central point to insure proper control and future retrieval?

2. Is there policy or law that prohibits all employees from attempting to discourage any civilian from making a complaint?

3. Does the department make deliberate attempts to cause complainants a minimum of inconvenience and embarrassment?

4. Is the machinery for hearing and processing complaints adequate, in the sense of fair, impartial, objective, etc.?

5. Is the machinery adequately publicized and interpreted so that all citizens know of it and can get further assistance if they need it?

6. Are all complaints adequately investigated?

7. Are there reports to the party making the complaint so that he is aware of developments from the time he makes the complaint until the time of disposition?

8. Does the department have a reputation for integrity with the entire community? (Do all members of the community consider it their police department?)

9. Is there an avenue for formalized appeal of police decisions?

By obtaining responses of randomly selected citizens, the administrator will be provided with a gauge to determine if there are weaknesses in the complaint machinery that need correction and, if so, approximately what the weaknesses are. The following is a model which meets the requirements of this evaluation method.

INTERNAL CONTROL MACHINERY

The material previously presented is now employed to develop a working model. The model that follows is designed to: (1) strengthen the administrator's control over the personnel of his organization; (2) provide a system that all segments of the community can respect; and (3) influence in a positive fashion the police and community relationship. The recommendations are based on the staff's contention that the police administrator, and not the public must initiate the first positive steps.

Supervision. The everyday task of police supervision includes attending to the many minor infractions and mistakes committed by subordinate officers. These are generally noticed by, or called to the attention of, the violator's immediate supervisor, and in most instances, they are handled

by this supervisor or through the chain of command. This procedure is vital for any organization. The supervisor must be granted sufficient power to fulfill this responsibility. In addition all employees must be held strictly accountable for the execution of their responsibilities. Guidelines should be established to define the supervisor's precise role in this area.

Some departments have these guidelines clearly drawn in the department regulations, but many do not. In these latter organizations, the limits of an immediate supervisor's disciplinary power are arbitrarily judged in the instant case, and it is practically impossible to determine his actual authority. This means that holding him responsible for not exercising it is equally impossible.

In the best interests of community relations, the administrator in each department must decide where the boundaries should be placed and initiate directives spelling them out. Generally, these decisions must be based upon considerations of such factors as the size and organization of the department, the size and composition of the community, the amount of confidence the administrator has in his supervisors, the time and manpower the administrator can devote to the activities that accompany the process, the importance of each type of violation--particularly in regard to the community's attitudes toward its seriousness--and the possible

repercussions that might result from inappropriate action by a supervisor. The types of violations that should ordinarily be the responsibility of first line supervisors are:

1. Minor rule violations that affect the organization to a greater extent than they affect members of the public, e.g., out of uniform, unshined shoes, failure to report on time, neglect of minor duties, improper initiation of reports, etc.

2. Violations that can best be handled at the time of detection by counseling or an oral reprimand, provided that the violation is not of the type that will cause serious community repercussions. In those areas where strong community feelings exist, the administrator should give serious consideration to requiring at least a review by higher authority.

The administrator should remember that conditions may develop which create a need for a different method of handling incidents that are ordinarily minor, and in some instances, the power to discipline should be taken from the immediate supervisor. The implication here is that there should be a constant analysis of the disciplinary procedure to detect weaknesses.

Rule and law violations that are of a more serious nature should be subjected to investigation and evaluation by officials further up the hierarchy or outside the normal channels of supervision. Even in these instances, though, the immediate supervisor has a role to play. If he is aware of the violation he should be responsible for requesting that action of a more serious nature be initiated

by the unit commander, in some instances, and by a trial board or the chief administrator in other more serious cases. The unit commander should have the authority to punish by use of the written reprimand, ordering retraining, and/or accepting the voluntary surrender of time off, in addition to the methods available to the immediate supervisor.

The commissioner or chief of police should possess the utmost freedom in this area. This official should have the authority to apply discipline to the extent of terminating an officer's service, however, his powers should not be without any limitations. These include: (1) Regulations that require him to have the support of the chief administrative official of the jurisdiction before the ultimate sanction may be applied; and (2) a civil service board that is available for appeal from disciplinary action. However, civil service boards should not have the power to overrule the chief. They should be empowered only to review the action of the administrator and to make their findings public. This is sufficient to control capricious action on the part of the administrator.

Members of the organization at all levels should know that they can call improper conduct of other policemen to the attention of either their immediate supervisor, their unit commander, the chief, or an internal investigation

unit. The fact that this method of initiating disciplinary action is not limited just to supervisory personnel, must be publicized throughout the organization. In fact, all officers should be required by departmental regulation to report violations of rules and laws that are serious in nature to an appropriate person or unit. This applies regardless of whether the officer personally saw the violation himself. In all cases where a report of misconduct is made to an officer by a citizen, the officer should be required to forward the report regardless of his personal suspicions as to its validity. Departmental rules must prohibit officers from attempting in any manner to discourage any person from making a complaint about improper police conduct. Any requirement of transmission of a report or complaint must be supported by penalties for unnecessary delay in such transmission.

Staff Inspections. The chief should establish some method of constant inspection to insure himself that the members of the organization are functioning in compliance with his expectations. The most logical method for doing this is a staff unit or person who is assigned this responsibility. In small departments this may be a duty assumed personally by the chief or delegated to an officer who performs it along with other duties.

In any case, the chief should maintain direct command

over the function to insure constant touch with the situation. The emphasis should be directed at guaranteeing that department personnel are performing in compliance with good administrative practice. The unit should possess a constant sensitivity to indications of corruption and misconduct, but the responsibility for the actual investigation of such activity should rest with a unit which, for the purposes of this report, will be designated as "Internal Investigations". The Staff Inspections Unit should be required to report any information it received regarding police misconduct to the Internal Investigations Unit, for complete follow-up investigations. A Staff Inspections Unit contributes to community relations to the extent that it maintains and improves the organization through its constant review.

Internal Investigations. One unit that is vital to both organizational control and the maintenance of good community relations is an internal staff unit for the investigation of police misconduct.

Administrators in all police departments should review procedures for handling all investigations of serious misconduct or illegal activities on the part of police employees. If there are no clear, positive provisions for handling investigations, immediate action should be taken. In the very small departments, the chief may want to indicate in

the procedures that he will assume the complete responsibility for investigating all such complaints, or he may want to designate one ranking officer for this function. In any case, the chief must maintain close liaison and control over the function.

In middle-sized and large organizations, the chief should establish a specialized staff unit for this area of investigation, and it should be staffed by men personally selected by him on the basis of their investigative competency and impartiality in performing this type of work. The commander of Internal Investigation Unit should be of a rank equal to sufficient rank to put him on equal footing with senior commanders, and thereby emphasize the importance of this unit's work. He should normally have direct access to the chief administrator of the police department.

The duties of this unit should include: (1) Investigating all complaints made by citizens against police employees; (2) Investigating complaints against employees raised internally, that cannot be handled by supervisors due to the seriousness of the alleged misconduct or some other reason; (3) Initiating activity designed to prevent and detect misconduct by employees of the organization; (4) Assisting in the prosecution of employees before departmental trial boards; and (5) Reviewing cases of supervisory

disciplinary action throughout the organization and reporting its findings periodically to the chief.

This unit should investigate all complaints concerning employees received from any source conversations without concern for whether the complainant reveals his identity or wishes to remain anonymous.[48]

In any investigation of this type, a time limit should be assigned to the case when it is given to an investigator.[49] If the investigator has not completed the case within this time limit, he must make a report on his progress, and either show justification for an extension or return the case for reassignment or filing. This is to prevent unnecessary delays in the investigation of complaints. In addition, the officer should be expected to submit daily reports on his progress, and at the end of the investigation he should prepare a complete summary of the investigation and his findings. Procedures should require that the complainant be periodically advised of the progress of the investigation, and consulted for suggestions as the investigation progresses.

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[48]Recognizing that special problems exist in this area, provisions should invest the Internal Investigations Commander with the authority to determine when not to investigate, or when to terminate an investigation of an anonymous complainant. However, a report containing the reasons for his action should be filed with the case records for future reference.

[49]Further recommendations for handling this are described in appeal board section, "Centralized Complaint Processing and Appeal".

Supervisors should insure that a record of the complaints received from citizens will be entered in chronological order in a bound record book designed specifically for this purpose with nonremovable pages. As much of the following information as possible will be recorded: (1) Name and address of complaining person; (2) The date and time the complaint was made; (3) The nature of the complaint; (4) How the complaint was received, i.e., in person, relayed by second party, telephone, etc.; (5) The location, date, and time of the alleged incident; (6) Name(s) of officer(s) thought to be involved; and (7) a case number assigned to the complaint.

The unit should have the responsibility for maintaining a security file on all cases. In each case the file should contain all investigation reports, statements, additional reports, and other related materials concerning the complaint. These records should be kept a minimum of five years at which time, except for still-active cases, they should be microfilmed. The microfilms should be permanently maintained.

This unit should constantly check on the appropriateness of minor disciplinary actions that have been disposed of at the supervisory level and report this to the chief. This is not to indicate that its function should be to second guess supervisors, but it is to determine whether discipline

is administered uniformly throughout the organization. However, it can also be used by the chief to detect gross neglect on the part of supervisors. Ordinarily it should only be employed as an administrative tool to indicate the need for change and/or training.

For the Internal Investigations Unit to carry out this responsibility, supervisors should be required to forward a listing of all disciplinary action taken each day to the Unit. This list should contain only the name of the officer disciplined, a one or two word description of the rule violated or improper act committed, and the action taken, e.g., verbal correction, oral reprimand, written reprimand, etc. From this list, the Internal Investigations Unit should select several incidents by regular random sampling, and these should be investigated to determine precisely what was involved in each. The cases will be written into a report that should be sent to the chief as each investigation is completed. By reviewing these investigation reports periodically, the chief administrator can be sure that the supervisors are carrying out their function, or if they are not, he can determine where the weaknesses are.

The next function of this unit has little to do with the usual type complaint investigation. The first is an intelligence activity which involves placing investigators

in positions where they will be able to detect and/or observe misconduct on the part of other officers. Information obtained may be used both to prosecute, in serious instances, and as an indicator of organizational weaknesses and training needs. In the second type activity, the unit may place men in situations where they can ascertain information about alleged improper police conduct and determine its validity.

The records kept on this activity differ, to some extent, from those kept when the investigation is based upon a normal complaint. For recording the everyday activities of men doing this work, there should be an activity report that contains a summary of how each man spends his working time. However, when an officer finds evidence of misconduct on the part of some police employee, he then becomes a complainant and the complaint is recorded in the same manner as serious supervisory and citizen complaints. The incident is then assigned a case number, and a case file is developed and filed with other cases that are made by civilian complainants.

The units final duty is assisting in the prosecution of alleged violations before a departmental trial board. When an investigator completes an investigation by establishing at least a preponderance of evidence on the innocence or guilt of the accused, he drafts a summary and sends this along with the rest of the investigation report to the

commander of the investigation unit. This summary should contain recommendations and conclusions concerning the future disposition of the case. If the preponderance of evidence points to guilt, the commander should formally endorse the charges made by the complainant and present them to the department's trial board. Additionally, those incidents that are also violations of criminal law should be forwarded to the criminal prosecuting official of the jurisdiction for criminal charges.

If it appears that the evidence does not support the charges of the complainant, the commander of the unit has several possible courses of action available for disposing of the case: (1) He can notify the complainant that sufficient evidence has not been found to support a finding of guilty; (2) He can send the case back to the investigator, or another investigator, and order further investigation; (3) He can recommend that the complainant be prosecuted for making a false and malicious complaint.[50]

If the commander chooses to notify the complainant

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[50]However, this does not mean that a special effort be made to prosecute a complainant. Prosecution of a complainant is a serious matter because of the influence it may have on the public's confidence in the department. It should be remembered that a prosecution for making a false complaint which results in a verdict of "not guilty" may result in charges of harassment that can seriously damage the police reputation.

that the evidence is inadequate to support the charge, he should also be told that he is not required to drop the case. He should be informed of the alternate means available to him.

The philosophy of the personnel making up the Internal Investigations Unit should hold that their only purpose is to obtain all of the facts surrounding the complaint. They should have no interest in finding anyone guilty or innocent and should reserve all judgments until the investigation is complete and the summary is written. At that point, becoming convinced that all the evidence is in, they may draw a conclusion.

An investigator in the Internal Investigations Unit should remember that if a policeman is guilty of improper conduct, the organization, public, and the profession will benefit if his conduct is laid open before the community and he receives just punishment. However, if he is innocent, he deserves the protection and support of the organization, and the fact that the charges are considered unsubstantialed.

It should not be necessary to point out that, during the course of the investigation, the investigating officers should avoid unnecessarily inconveniencing any of the parties involved. Contacts should be made at the time and place most convenient to the person in question. Officers should avoid contacting a complainant at his place of work, and

they should avoid conduct that in any way will discourage or embarrass him. It should be remembered that the complainant is doing the department a favor by telling them of an officer who is not worthy of trust.

Trial Boards. It is the opinion of this staff that trial boards are basically useful to the chief, and the decision to establish one should rest solely with him only. The chief should remember that if such a board is not established, he will normally have the responsibility for determining appropriate action in all serious cases of alleged police misconduct. One of the most important advantages of the board in large cities is the work that it takes from the chief, because he has only to read the transcript and the recommendations and decide if the disciplinary action recommended ia appropriate. This is also advantageous because the collective judgment of several men is likely to be more acceptable to a civil service commission or a court, should the action be appealed.

An important consideration in establishing or redesigning machinery for departmental trials should involve freeing the system of structural defects that would cause members of the public to regard it as unfair. Even though little can be done to cause all the people of the community to believe that the members of the board will be fair and impartial, the chief certainly can prepare adequate machinery

that all people can respect. The following are important features that should be a part of the system:

1. The board should be an extension of the office of the head of the police department, and its function is to decide upon the fairest and best action in view of the evidence and recommend this to the chief.

2. It should be composed of members appointed by the chief, with no member having a rank of less that the person being tried. However, the accused employee should have the right to demand an officer of his own rank be placed on the board, and this demand should be respected.

3. The board should not have the power to refuse to hear a complaint made by a citizen against an officer, although it does have the power to refer a complaint to the Internal Investigation Unit first in an effort to obtain additional information about the situation. When a case is referred in this manner, it should not be a stalling action, and to prevent this a time limit should be enforced.[51]

4. Any citizen or police employee who complains of misconduct on the part of a police employee, should be assured of support in prosecuting the complaint if the Internal Investigations Unit determines that the complaint is supported by evidence.

5. On the opposite side, no police employee should have to face the board without counsel, and if the request is made, the board should have the power to assign legal assistance to a defendent.

6. The board and both parties involved should have the right to subpoena witnesses. The board should not have the power to refuse to hear a witness that one of the parties feels is important unless it can support this with specific justification.

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[51]See the following section, "Centralized Complaint Processing of Appeal".

7. The trial and departmental rules and procedures should be printed and available to anyone who wishes copies. They should include a listing of the rights and duties of both parties.[52]

8. No case should be heard without a complainant. If the person who initiated the complaint is unknown, the commander of the Internal Investigation Unit must endorse the complaint before it is heard.

9. An accused officer should be entitled to a copy of the accusations against him prior to the trial. Therefore, there should be an arraignment of sorts prior to the trial process. At this arraignment, the accused should receive a copy of the charges, and be advised of his rights and the maximum penalty for the offense.

10. Both parties should be given an opportunity to call, examine, and cross-examine witnesses.

11. A preponderance of evidence in accordance with the definition used in civil actions should be sufficient to support a conviction.

12. The decision of the board should be only advisory to and not mandatory for the chief. The final decision on the appropriate action rests entirely with him.

13. The complainant and the accused should both be allowed to appeal to an agency outside the organization if they are not satisfied with the ruling. However, agencies for hearing appeals should not have the power to overrule the decision of the chief administrator.

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[52]Departmental rules should be available to the public for if a citizen claims that an officer violated a rule, he should be able to determine if there is in fact such a rule.

14. All parties involved are entitled to free transcripts of the proceedings, and decisions and recommendations that are forwarded to the chief should also be available to the parties and the public.

The objective of improved community relations would be best served if the trial board hearings were opened to the public. Decisions made in secret hearings or based upon confidential reports are likely to be suspected by the public and should be avoided. It is again emphasized that when facts are not presented in the open, rumors will fill the void, and such rumors, generally, will not place the police in a favorable light.

All hearings should be transcribed in their entirety and the proceedings published. This would be beneficial to both the department and the public for it would provide the community with an actual account of what transpired. Additionally, the cases have considerable value for future training and educational programs.

Conclusion. Police administrators can win the confidence of all segments of the community and build a good community relationship, only by improving their internal administrative control of the department through the implementation of certain proven techniques and machinery. Therefore they should: (1) Improve and firm up supervision for more positive control in achieving equal protection for all members of the community; (2) Implement and/or strengthen the Internal Investiga-

tions Unit; (3) Encourage all citizen complaints and investigate them fairly and properly; (4) Establish and/or improve both the departmental trial process and the public distribution of information related to it; and (5) Support legislation to establish an appeal system for complainants who are not satisfied with the department's handling of their complaint.

A system that has been designed solely to provide citizens a channel of appeal from departmental rulings on their complaints will be described in the following section. The police administrator will find it helpful for detecting police and community conflict points, and also in increasing the confidence of minority groups in the police department.

CENTRALIZED COMPLAINT PROCESSING AND APPEAL

Previously, it was stated that ideally the chief police administrator should be delegated complete disciplinary discretion. In turn, he must provide his supervisory officers with sufficient authority to fulfill their responsibilities. However, there are often circumstances that change a situation, and this one is no exception. Although the police have a responsibility to their citizenry in this area, presently, some citizens lack confidence in internal police discipline. The sensitive police administrator knows that he must take the first step toward the solution of this problem. One of the most logical initial steps is

to advocate the enactment of governmental machinery that will make it possible for the public to look inside the police department and evaluate the handling of citizen complaints. The staff believes that the present situation is so explosive and harmful to the whole of society that drastic measures are necessary on the part of the police if they are to gain the support and confidence of the total community. In this light, the following recommendations are submitted.

The Organization. Local police administrators should advocate and support the establishment of a dual-purpose commission in the local government. The commission would be defined by law as a staff advisory unit responsible to the chief executive of the jurisdiction. It should consist of two major branches: (1) a quasi-judicial hearing board; and (2) a staff. The quasi-judicial board should consist of three members appointed by the chief executive, with the advise and consent of the legislature. They would serve overlapping terms of six years. These men should be chosen because of their ability and their reputations for integrity. The staff should be appointed under a merit system, and their selection should be based upon their ability to perform the required tasks. To facilitate conciseness this agency shall be referred to as the Executive

Appeal Commission (EAC) in the remainder of this report.[53]

The Purposes of EAC. The EAC should be organized as an advisory unit responsible to the chief executive of the jurisdiction and it should perform two types of functions: (1) Receive, record, evaluate, and refer all complaints made concerning the conduct of any employee of the executive branch of government; and (2) Hear appeals from the decisions of the line agencies' regarding complaints that have been referred to them.

Along with these functions it should have the responsibility for the following activities:

1. Maintaining statistical data regarding the number, the types, and other relevant information about all complaints concerning employees of the executive branch of government.
2. Analyzing all relevant data concerning complaints to determine the course of action that can best reduce complaints and maintain community harmony.
3. Holding trial sessions for appeals and render decisions regarding the appeals.
4. Advising the chief administrator on matters related to discipline and citizen complaints.
5. Performing independent investigations where the

[53]The actual size of EAC and the number of employees required to meet its needs are dependent upon the size of the community that it must serve. It is felt that in a small city the assistant to the city manager, or a similar official, could assume the duties of the staff, and the board members could hold meetings only when the situation arequires.

efforts of investigations of the affected department were not deemed to be adequate or where they were suspect.

6. Preparing and publishing all relevant decisions and all reports of the Board.
7. Maintaining liaison with the various departments of the government in an attempt to assist and aid them in resolving conflicts between themselves and members of the community.

The commission should not interfere unnecessarily with the administration of any department. To insure this the following restrictions should be promulgated:

1. It should not have the authority to impose any penalty upon any individual member of any department other than the authority to render and publish all decisions of the Board.
2. It should have the authority to hear only appellate cases, except in special instances.[54]

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[54]Provisions should be made to provide complainants direct access to the Board in those cases where it is continued that the department in question will harass the complainant or will not handle the complaint properly. In these cases the complainant will have to prove to the satisfaction of the Commission that this allegation is true. It can then assume original jurisdiction over the complaint.

3. It should be restricted to only the investigating and reviewing those practices for policies which have resulted in complaints from citizens.
4. It should have no authority to investigate or review any internal departmental activities such as corruption, neglect of duty, etc. unless the conduct is related to a specific citizen complaint.[55]

The Staff of the Commission. The Board of the Commission should be charged only with the responsibility of hearing and deciding the merits of complaints. The staff should perform supporting functions that are necessary in such a situation. An executive director would probably be required to handle the operations of the unit and maintain the liaison with the chief governmental executive.

Under the executive director should be an investigation section, a legal section, and a statistical section. The investigation section should consist of a staff of properly trained investigators who have no affiliation with any other department of government. It should have power to undertake investigations only when they are clearly within the jurisdiction of the Commission.

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[55]This does not restrict the scientific study of situations that cause conflict and complaints, nor other related research done for the chief administrator.

The legal section should be staffed with practicing attorneys. Their responsibility would be to provide legal assistance, and advise any person who desires to formally complain against an employee of the government--if such a complainant derires assistance. This includes keeping the complainant informed of the developments of the case, and advising him on the mechanics of the disciplinary system of the department involved. This legal assistance should be provided for the complainant from the time he initiates the complaint until a final disposition is offered by the Executive Appeal Commission.

The statistical section should be composed of individuals with various skills. Some should have statistical backgrounds and some should, of necessity, be knowledgeable in the social sciences. There may even be a need for a technical editor. This section should have the responsibility of maintaining the necessary records related to civilian complaints against the various departments of the government. It should publish all reports and decisions as directed by the Commission. This unit should be particularly valuable to the chief executive in his attempts to evaluate his administration.

The Commission's Role in the Complaint Procedure. The Commission should serve as the centralized reception point for receiving all complaints from citizens that allege impro-

per conduct on the part of a governmental employee.

It should provide a centralized complaint mechanism that should, ideally, be located away from other governmental offices at a central, convenient place in the jurisdiction. All complaints made to the government's employees about the misconduct of other employees in dealing with the public will be registered with this agency within an established time limit. Law should require that all complaints be registered when there is alleged violation of organizational rules, ordinances, or laws, or if an employee is abusive (physically or verbally) to a citizen, regardless of when they are received, how they are received, or who received them. In addition, the agency will maintain a desk where complaints will be received at certain designated times every day.

It is not the function of EAC to take over the disciplining of employees, but to insure that citizens with complaints receive justice quickly, inexpensively, and conveniently without fear of retribution. If a person chooses not to make use of the centralized complaint desk, he may go to any department of government and initiate it. In fact, he can go to any employee of the local government and that person, after advising the citizen of the available procedure and ascertaining whether or not he wants to make a formal complaint, is required to

forward the complaint to the EAC. The law that established the Commission also should make it an offense for any employee of the government to fail to forward a complaint to the Commission, and any violation of the law should be severely punished.

Upon receipt of a complaint within the Commission's jurisdiction, the clerk shall immediately assign to it a chronologically identifiable registration number. The complaint will then be recorded with appropriate information.[56] This process will enable citizens to make their complaints without having to fear going into the department where the accused employee works and reduce the possibility of any claims of intimidation. Aside from this, it will provide more complete information related to complaints about all branches of government and, therefore, provide the chief administrator and the legislators with more accurate information for the development of policy.

After receiving the complaint, the agency will make legal counsel available without cost to the complainant if this is requested. A copy of the complaint will then be forwarded to the accused employee's department along with

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[56] Included should be such things as the name of the complainant, time of complaint, where original complaint was made, a short description of the complaint, department and employee involved, etc.

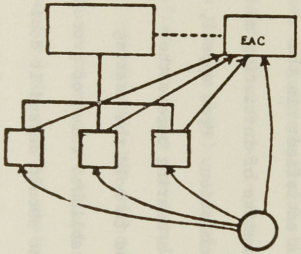
notice of the time limit for disposition of the complaint. If the complaint involves the police, the notification will go to the Internal Investigation Unit and it should be expected to follow through in compliance with appropriate internal procedures.

A report should be made to the Executive Appeal Commission after the final action has been taken by the department or at the end of the time limit. If additional time is needed, a request must be submitted and the Commission should make the necessary determination. The final and all related reports from the department should be entered in the case file of the Commission, and any disposition should be noted on the ledger.

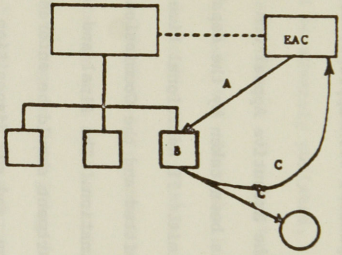
Disposition by the department designates the end of the process, if the complainant is satisfied. In the event he is not, he has the alternative of initiating an appeal to the Executive Appeal Commission. Upon appeal, the complainant is scheduled for a hearing before the Board. The Board is then required to hold the hearing in accordance with previously established rules of procedure.

At the hearing the department should defend it decision, and the complainant will be represented by his own counsel or one provided by the Commission. Both parties should be afforded the opportunity to subpoena witnesses and introduce evidence. There should be ample opportunity

CHART I



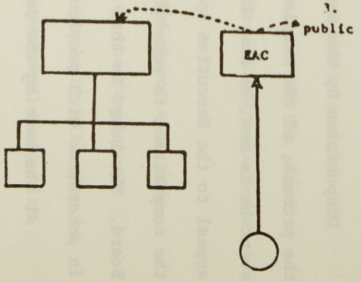
Input to central control (EAC). 1.



2. Departmental input; processing; disposition.

A B C

COMPLAINT AGAINST POLICE



3.

LEGEND

...Office of Chief Executive.

EAC .....Executive Appeals Commission.

.....A governmental department.

.....A Citizen.

for examination and cross-examination of witnesses by members of the Board. If the Board at any time decides that more data is needed, it can require the Commission's staff investigators to complete the investigation.

After the Board has heard all testimony and seen all evidence, it must render a decision and write an opinion in support of this decision. Since only a majority vote is needed to support a decision, where one member of the Board dissents he may also write a dissenting opinion. The records of the case, the investigation done by the Commission, the hearings, and the Board's opinions will then be compiled and reproduced by the Commission staff. These should be considered public records.

This agency is designed to improve the confidence of the public in the departments of local government. While it has limited formal power, its power of publication should be sufficient to safeguard against capricious action by the various administrators of the governmental units. At the same time, it does not abrogate the power of any administrator. The chief administrator should find it useful because of the data that it can provide on complaints and because, when it discovers that a department is performing its disciplinary role in a proper manner, it will be publicly supported.

The community will be able to obtain accurate infor-

mation about the complaints against their governmental employees and particularly their police. This will dispel false rumors and enhance the confidence of the public in their police and the local governments.

CONCLUSION

Police conduct is a real and a present problem. Certain segments of the community tend to exaggerate the extent of police misconduct. The police tend to minimize their misdeeds. Both have developed entrenched attitudes and refuse to compromise or even yield slightly. The police and segments of some communities have become convinced that they are adversaries.

As a result, the staff visualizes two distinct alternative possibilities for the police: (1) They can refuse to initiate any changes and be prepared to tolerate decreasing public respect and suffer increased violence; or (2) They can admit some fallibility, welcome criticism, compromise a little, and initiate objectively considered changes in an effort to enhance public support and avoid violence. In the first instance, it is likely that the disrespect and violence will result; in the second the staff can offer only an educated prediction that conditions will improve.

There is no desire to see policemen nor administrators

subjected to unnecessary control by outside agencies and no interest in the further erosion of the administrative powers of the chief police official. However, there is a strong desire to prevent the disorder, conflict, and violence that is caused in part by a lack of respect for the police. Whether the public's attitudes are justified or not is largely immaterial. They do exist and they do cause problems. Therefore, it is up to the police to attempt to do something to prove that they are a part of the societal team and they intend to do their part to ease tensions--even if it means yielding a little from traditional patterns.

There is no doubt that the adoption of the methods recommended in this report will result in more citizen complaints; this is anticipated. However, conditions do not often improve without criticism. Out of sheer necessity, the survey team advocates this course of action. Our communities can ill afford the repercussions that might result from police administrators who insist upon the luxury of the status quo. Police and community relations will not be improved by police who insist upon isolating themselves from their public.

CHAPTER V

THE PERSONNEL FUNCTION AND POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

While proper organization and intelligent administration are vital to the successful accomplishment of the police task, no single resource possesses greater significance for a police agency than manpower. Indicative of this significance in terms of costs to the agency and the citizen is the data summarized in Table I. With an average of 86% of the nation's city police dollar being spent solely on salaries and wages there must be an extended effort made to see that the highest return possible is received by the communities in terms of quality personnel who are properly trained and managed in the performance of their assigned duties.

The relationship between police personnel management and community relations should be self-evident since the personnel function includes such activities as the recruitment, selection, and placement of the human factor. Simply stated, the police and community relationship depends, to a great degree, upon the quality and the performance of the officers who daily carry out their responsibilities with and before the public.

TABLE I*

1965 POLICE DEPARTMENT EXPENDITURES
PER CAPITA BY POPULATION GROUP

Population Group	No. of Cities Represented	Salaries & Wages	Total	Percent Salaries and Wages to Total
Over 500,000	23	13.71	14.98	91
250,000-500,000	24	12.62	14.10	89
100,000-250,000	72	10.12	11.82	86
50,000-100,000	164	9.84	11.40	86
25,000-50,000	320	8.88	10.48	85
10,000-25,000	658	19.99	25.93	77
All Cities	1,261	12.75	14.77	86%

*Source: International City Managers' Associations's The Municipal Yearbook - 1966, p. 443.

The general pertinence of the personnel function to any discussion of police and community relations is readily acknowledged, but since an adequate consideration of the entire field is not feasible in this report, those phases of the process which are most appropriate to the subject matter of the study have been selected for analysis.

Police Responsiveness to Community Needs. At nearly every visited site, a wide range of opinion as to the proper role of the police in the community was evident. Both the police and the citizenry seemed to be uncertain as to precisely what should be done by these public servants. There was, however, greater agreement that the urban scene was changing drastically and that, therefore, old police techniques and methods will not meet the requirements of contemporary society.

The police, then, find themselves facing a dual problem. They must retool, and still contend with a changing community. Responding to needs under such conditions is indeed difficult.

If the police are to meet this challenge, they must realize that one way to be responsive to community needs is to be more fully representative of the "communities" which they serve.

To contend that "equal representation" of personnel is a necessity is restrictive and unrealistic insofar as sound police administration is concerned, but the alternative of no or only token representation is equally harmful. It is difficult to distinguish between tokenism in representation and the nationwide shortage of qualified minority group applicants, but a brief exposure to departmental personnel will usually reveal whether shortages are "intended" or a result of the tight labor market.

Unfortunately, the practice of token representation is still to be found. Elliot Rudwick in his study of the Negro policeman in the South made this quite clear.[1] Even where members of minority groups are hired, a variety of techniques are often employed to restrict their participation as full-fledged police officers. While such practices are not universal, Negro officers sometimes find themselves with limited powers of arrest and segregated into certain types of assignments.[2] (Note Table II, compiled from data

[1]Elliot M. Rudwick, The Unequal Badge--Negro Policemen in the South, Atlanta, Georgia: Southern Regional Council, 1962.

[2]Ibid.

presented in a 1959 survey of the southern United States. It is not intended to be wholly representative, but it does give some insight into the situation.)

In one southern community, long a subject of the public spotlight, six Negroes are employed as patrolmen assigned to foot beats in the Negro section of the city. Officially they are regular police officers, but day-to-day practices such as assignments, restrictions on the use of the arrest power, etc., indicate otherwise. While white police officers and certain segments of the community have noted the "success" of Negro patrolmen in keeping peace and order, comments such as "we refuse to hire any more or go any further because of pressure and demands by the movement" were noted and point up the lack of tact, diplomacy, and willingness to work differences of opinion and social beliefs out in a mutually satisfactory manner.

Even in the northern large cities where such practices are supposedly non-existent, the vestiges of discrimination still persist. As recently as June of this year, Superintendent O. W. Wilson of Chicago found it necessary to force the integration of patrol cars by directive because this was not accomplished under a voluntary program.[3] It should be noted that this action caused considerable consternation among the rank and file.

On the balance, however, our survey discovered a desire on the part of most police officials to obtain qualified

[3] Chicago Sun Times, June 15, 1966, p. 3.

TABLE II

ASSIGNMENT PRACTICES AND ARREST POWER
OF SOUTHERN NEGRO POLICE OFFICERS - 1959

State	Number	Patrol Negro Sections Only	To Arrest White Offender
Ala.	2	2-Yes	2-Call white police who arrest
Ark.	4	3-Yes 1-No	4-Call white police who arrest
Fla.	36	32-Yes 1-Primarily 3-No	26-Call white police who arrest 3-Arrest white man in a felony case 1-"No fixed rule" 1-Depends on circumstances 5-Arrest white offender
Ga.	7	7-Yes	6-Call white police who arrest 1-Arrest white man in felony case
Ky.	5	2-Yes 1-Primarily 2-No	1-"Done both ways" 1-Serves civil papers to Negroes 3-Arrest white offender
La.	6	5-Yes 1-No	5-Call white police who arrest 1-Arrest white offender
Miss.	3	3-Yes	3-Call white police who arrest
N. C.	20	14-Yes 4-Primarily 2-No	5-Call white police who arrest 3-No information 9-Arrest white offender 1-Usually call white police who arrest 1-Done both ways 1-Serves processes to Negroes
Okla.	7	6-Yes 1-No	7-Arrest white offender
S. C.	10	9-Yes 1-No	5-Call white police who arrest 3-Arrest white offender 1-Arrest white offender in felony 1-No information
Tenn.	5	5-Yes	3-Call white police who arrest 1-Arrest white offender 1-Serve civil papers on Negroes

State	Number	Patrol Negro Sections Only	To Arrest White Offender
Texas	16	12-Yes 4-No	4-Call white police who arrest 1-No information 9-Arrest white offender 1-Arrest white misdemeanants 1-Call white police "to assist in arrest"
Va.	9	7-Yes 1-No 1-No Information	1-Call white police who arrest 6-Arrest white offender 1-No information 1-Serves civil papers to Negroes

Source: Elliott M. Rudwick's The Unequal Badge - Negro Policemen in the South, published by the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga., 1962.

applicants from minority groups. While some police administrators approach this step with less than enthusiasm and others with apprehension, the fact remains that many law enforcement agencies are attempting to recruit candidates from ethnic and racial groups that have never before been asked to consider police work as a career. This "prior exclusion" has in some quarters been used as grounds for encouraging Negroes to refrain from applying for police jobs even though these cities now desire Negro police applicants.

The fact that many law enforcement agencies are actively seeking minority group applicants is to be applauded, but anything short of complete integration in a police agency is unacceptable. Any halfway commitment is without merit. The police of a community should represent their community, not necessarily percentage point for percentage point, but in a way that each group in the community can with certainty refer to "our" police force and no longer look upon it as a tool of another community segment.

Recruitment. Almost every jurisdiction surveyed lamented the lack of qualified police recruits. Indeed, one author has referred to this situation in this way, "Upcoming: A Crises in Recruiting".[4] More and more departments are attempting innovations to secure a broader base of prospective candidates. For example, the Flint, Michigan, Police Department utilized a "Recruitment Caravan" consisting of

[4]Joseph W. Hawthorne, "Upcoming: A Crises in Recruiting". The Police Chief, May, 1962. pp. 10, 40-42.

three officers, a camper trailer, and a station wagon to travel extensively throughout the State and surrounding areas to fill their recruitment needs. Interestingly enough, the officer who headed the caravan was recently appointed commander of a newly created police and community relations unit.

While there are a number of factors which affect police recruitment programs, such as, salaries, working conditions, and selection standards, one area has not, in our opinion, received proper attention. It involves a question of public attitude toward the police. If the police are to obtain a sufficient number of candidates, their potential market must look upon police work as an appropriate career field. Since a role of the police and community relations unit is to maintain cordial relationships between the agency and the public, this unit has an important task to fulfill in the field of personnel management. Good police and community relations then makes good sense in terms of police recruitment. This harmonious relationship, however, is not achieved by the mere creation of a PCR unit. The relationship between the unit and the community may be excellent, but the same is not necessarily true at the operational level.

An appropriate relationship can also aid in the solution to the problem of minority group recruitment. As noted earlier, most police officials are striving to

procure members of minority groups for their organizations. Despite considerable effort in this direction, the number of candidates who have come forth is negligible. The question is, why? There is no one answer. This study indicates a number of different reasons why minority group members do not seek employment with law enforcement agencies.

1. Limitations in Normal Recruitment Techniques. The commonly utilized recruitment techniques simply do not reach minority groups. For example, it is a proven fact that one of the best sources of candidates is personal recruitment by the present members of the department. Since most agencies have few minority groups members at present, it is unlikely that this process will procure many applicants.

   Indicative of this situation is St. Louis, where annually approximately 42% of all applications for the patrolman positions are referred to the department by its police officers.[5] The quality of these referrals is not to be overlooked either, as approximately 57% of these referrals are finally appointed. The source coming closest to police officers for referrals is "own initiative" producing roughly half the number, but only 13% of these applicants are successful.

[5] 1965 Annual Report - Personnel and Medical Divisions, Metropolitan Police Department, City of St. Louis, Missouri, p. 33.

This factor of police officers being the best recruiting source may also tend to further the police stereotype as policemen would probably be inclined to refer those who fit their own image of what makes a good police officer. Such a condition, if it is true, would seem to suggest that additional or new recruitment sources need to be opened to make the department more representative.

2. Fear of Prejudice in the Selection Process. There can be no doubt that Negro and Latin American candidates for police positions have been subjected to discriminatory practices in the recent past. Years of prejudice, bias, hatred and social pressure have resulted in a deep seated distrust of the police and the selection procedure. This history of distrust continues today even though these bars have generally been removed. Such an atmosphere is hardly conducive to successful recruitment.

Although most minority group leaders that were interviewed during this survey felt that the present police selection procedures were fair, a few had some trepidation about the process. Two specific areas seem to cause the most uncertainty. First, the use of oral examinations was questioned, not as a technique, but as a possible point of discrimination. Little, if any evidence is available to sub-

stantiate this charge, but nevertheless, the opinion continues.

A Community Relations Committee in a large midwestern city recently reported the observations of Negro patrolmen in that city. One recommendation urged the use of a Negro on the oral board selecting patrolmen as Negroes can observe culturally related characteristics and qualities which an all-white selection committee would miss.

Second, there was considerable distrust expressed concerning the use of character investigations. Negroes and Latin Americans seemed to be puzzled as to the criteria employed by police investigators in the elimination of applicants. They maintain that certain types of arrest records are common in their home areas and that it is unfair to penalize them on the basis of such evidence. The survey group thinks that this point may be well taken. While there is no desire to see individuals with long records of criminal activity hired by the police, care should be taken to evaluate such incidents in light of the person's background. Very few Beverly Hills residents are ever stopped by an enforcement officer, but every

day slum dwellers are subjected to field interrogations.[6]

A problem involving arrest records of participants in civil rights demonstrations is beginning to arise. Teenagers that have participated in marches and other forms of demonstration in the past few years are seeking employment only to be rejected because of their record of arrest. Such a criterion should be carefully reevaluated.

3. Lack of Opportunity for Promotion. Related to the previous problem is the subject of promotional potential. The survey indicated that minority publics, in general, and many minority group police officers feel that their advancement possibilities are extremely limited. Although police departments such as Chicago's and Philadelphia's represent the few bright spots, the overall picture shows few supervisory and command officers of minority descent. For example, neither Denver or Seattle with over 750 officers each had any Negro officers above the rank of

[6]In recognition of these factors, many departments are now placing a minority group member on their oral boards and the New York City Police Department recently announced that all applicants who are rejected because of background investigations will have their cases reviewed by two ranking officers of the department. Both of these officials are members of a minority group.

detective. Police officials maintain that those officers who are qualified will receive promotions and add that there are generally few such officers to begin with and many of these are new to the job and thus, do not meet the necessary requirements insofar as time in grade is concerned. In many cases these contentions are true, but just as true is the fact that a number of departments were discovered where minority group officers were either actually discouraged by supervisors and commanders, or at least, the minority aspirant felt he was purposefully discouraged. The technique seems to be effective since those officers often are the same ones who prepare the candidate's efficiency report and participate in some cases upon oral boards. Such information is generally known in the minority community, and thus, fewer applicants appear. In one large western city, for instance, there seemed to be considerable feeling that Negro officers could not obtain promotions. While it is true that there are no Negro supervisory and command officers now in the department, this contention seems to be based on a situation dating back over ten years. At that time there were three Negroes from the same family on the department. After a number of years of failing to obtain any promotions, all three quit the force

and joined the County Sheriff's Office. All three received some sort of promotion with one reaching the rank of captain. This story was related by a number of interviewees as one reason why Negroes did not apply for the department.

4. The Adversary Concept. Unfortunately, in some areas, the police are looked upon as the "enemy". There is little question that in the minds of some people, joining the police would be akin to treasonous behavior. Negroes often indicate their distaste for Negro police officers and refer to them as "Uncle Toms" or worse.

This condition was noted most sharply in the South and it was recognized to a lesser degree in a number of large cities. In more than one southern community, the Negro police officers were singled out specifically by Negro community leaders as being "Uncle Toms". With noteworthy exception, representatives of the Negro segments of the communities visited tended to consider Negro police officers as policemen first and Negro second, and occasionally as being "harder" on fellow Negroes than white officers in general.

Latin Americans, particularly Mexican Americans, as noted in a number of locations, either fail to consider it as an appropriate

occupation or harken back to the days when they feared the "Federales".[7] In neither case, the Negro or the Latin American, can the police expect enthusiastic support for their recruitment drives.

Philadelphia and New York employ a recruitment circular printed in both English and Spanish. While the basic idea is sound, most of these materials are unimaginative and do little to alleviate the "adversary" concept which plagues police and community relationships.

5. The Availability of Better Positions Elsewhere. Recent events have resulted in the opening of certain sections of the employment market to minority group members. The survey reveals that this has placed many individuals in favorable positions with a variety of organizations competing for their services. While the salary and fringe benefits available to the average minority group member are such that he is still likely to be interested in what a police department can offer him, it is true that part of the previously available manpower pool has departed for greener pastures.

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[7]Note Dr. Blanche DePuy's article: "A Case of Cultural Rub: The Spanish Inheritance and John Law", Police, November-December, 1965, p. 15.

For example, in highly industrialized communities police trained Negroes are considered prime targets for recruiters for industrial security positions. During the past few years, the integration of industrial security forces has occurred and it is not unusual to hear of or observe cases where Negro police officers have been lured away with a considerable increase in salary. In one city, six out of eight Negroes on the city police department left to go with an industrial firm for various reasons, but it is difficult to believe that "better job opportunity" aspects were not a prime factor.

6. Civil Rights Strategy. Occasionally, civil rights leaders have suggested that Negroes refuse to join police agencies. They take the view that for years they have been discriminated against by the police. Why should they, therefore, assist the police chief who is trying to hire Negroes? As cited earlier, six out of eight Negro officers left their department to accept positions with an industrial firm which was induced to integrate its security guard force. The move was encouraged by local civil rights leaders. It should be noted that the industrial jobs were more lucrative.

In no case did we see all six of these factors operating at one time to the detriment of police recruitment, but on the

other hand, at least one and usually a combination of two or more of them worked against police efforts.

It is obvious that no simple solution is available in this recruitment dilemma. Only a concerted effort on the part of the entire police organizational structure can remove these roadblocks. In the forefront of such an attack should be the department's police and community relations unit. It has the responsibility for developing and, to some degree, executing programs that reduce friction and conflict, and misunderstanding is conflict. It is urged, therefore, that the police and community relations unit in cooperation with the department's personnel office take steps to analyze their jurisdiction's particular problem and develop a positive program to remedy the situation. If discrimination exists, it should be rooted out and eliminated. If a lack of understanding is the cause, a broad gauged public information program should be initiated. The police must take positive steps. They must aggressively seek out qualified applicants on their own home grounds. A vergin territory is not conquered by timidity.

A somewhat flamboyant program contrasting with the usual timid nature of traditional police recruiting programs was observed in Philadelphia. During the course of 1965, Philadelphia obtained approximately 1,000 patrolmen (one-seventh of its entire force) as a result of various "positive" recruiting techniques summarized as:

1. Use of "James Bond" theme. Distribution of postcard size notices attractively urging that "James Bond Can't - but you can" and on the flip side listing only the advantages of working for the department.
2. Use of the "Olympian and Policeman Bill Sharpe" theme on similar cards.
3. Programs and commercials featuring well-known movie starlets, football stars, and baseball heroes.
4. Use of newspaper advertisements portraying the following information in attractive form: "Leave Dullsville-If you are bored with your present job, tired of the same old routine and getting nowhere fast - you are in Dullsville. Get on the right track now for an exciting challenging career. Join the Philadelphia Police Force. This modern, dynamic organization offers you excitement and the chance to become a man of action. Make the big switch now. Get up steam - come to the Instant Testing Center, 116 City Hall or make the short haul to any of the following police stations at the time designated..."
5. Use of Instant Testing Centers to speed up the selection process to meet the needs of the applicant.
6. Use of personalized letters to older citizens of the community to recommend applicants.

7. Use of personalized letters to all persons of the community between the ages of 20 and 35 and a letter to their wives and relatives. This was extremely valuable with minority group applicants.
8. Prompt follow-up to inform applicants whether they were qualified or not.
9. Emphasis of the "positive" features of the job rather than making the potential applicant apprehensive about qualifications even before he is interested as is the traditional manner.

New York's recruiting problems have led to various programs aimed at getting manpower into the organization. Prior to June, 1964, a Police Cadet Program was used rather unsuccessfully to obtain college-trained cadets. A successor program, the Police Trainee Program, required full-time employment with the department and strongly encouraged attendance in police science or related courses which the predecessor did not.

A third type of program is the MDTA (Federal Manpower Development and Training Act) Police Cadet Program. The intent of this program is to train persons to meet the qualifications for Police Trainee (cited above) positions. The training will be primarily remedial and refresher courses in basic educational subjects. The survey staff is of the opinion that this type of program has potential merit. Various aspects of it should be explored for medium-sized to small communities.

Chicago has among other positive and forward looking recruiting techniques begun the use of recruitment officers on the district level under the coordination of a central recruiter. The program appears to be well defined and structured so as to bring the needs of the department to the local or neighborhood level.

Police Standards. While there are certain experientially tested standards presently employed in police selection, very little concrete research has been performed to verify their utility. As a result, we often judge a department's selection criteria in terms of "high" or "rigid" standards or of "low" ones. Police authorities often talk of the "best" man available and are constantly moving toward physical and mental requirements which limit the available manpower pool. This desire for perfection is understandable, but it has in some ways resulted in the present recruitment squeeze.

While there is no wish here to initiate a program of lowering qualifications recklessly or offering one with double standards, it is, however, contended that the best selection criterion is, "What sort of an individual do we need to perform the task successfully?" In other words, certain of the cherished standards should be reevaluated in terms of needs. Once these are established, then and only then, should they be held inviolable.

The above position is stated here because the survey team often heard that most minority group applicants are simply not qualified and that this is the core of our problem

insofar as obtaining Negro or Latin American police officers is concerned. While there is no doubt that many minority candidates are unacceptable, it is also possible that the selection standards are unrealistic. The most obvious of these is height. A considerable number of Latin American candidates are eliminated by the height requirements. Yet, there seems to be no certainty as to whether a policeman has to be 5'6" or 5'10". Nevertheless, departments were found at both ends of the continuum defending their positions. As a striking example of this situation, the present Police Commissioner of one of our largest cities is a career policeman who rose from the ranks to become Commissioner of Police in the city of his birth, but due to his height he could not presently qualify as a patrolman on the department he heads.

In Chicago the recent racial unrest in the Puerto Rican section of the community caused the administration to reassess its representation of this section on the police force. One of the causative factors for eliminating applicants from this area was height and due to an on-going research project by the department's personnel staff, the former standard was deemed to be too high to obtain applicants from certain ethnic groups and shortly before the incidents lowered to 5'7".

Flat feet have traditionally been a cause for rejection of Negro applicants just as height has been for Puerto Ricans

and others with Latin American backgrounds. On the West Coast, eyeglass standards have caused problems for Americans of Oriental ancestry.

Another area of contention involves the mental standards established by police departments. This has particular reference to the paper and pencil tests given by these agencies. While, once again, there is no desire to reduce police standards below the required level, the study group is less than certain that present tests or procedures really meet the field's needs. From the point of view of minority applicants, the survey discovered no discrimination in test administration. It is difficult to judge, however, whether the tests are free from cultural bias, and therefore, this matter should be reviewed.

The most recent and controversial development concerning mental standards for police does not concern the tests themselves, but rather a new series of programs announced by Secretary of Labor Wirtz.[8] Under these programs, minority group members are to be prepared for work in law enforcement. So far, Cincinnati and Cleveland, Ohio; Los Angeles County and Oakland, California; New York City; Miami, Florida; and St. Louis, Missouri, have been selected as project sites. At each of these locations, individuals selected under varying sets of circumstances will be prepared for a period

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[8]Due to the fact that all but the New York City grant were just announced, July 2, 1966, we cannot say much concerning the content of the proposed programs.

of from six months to a year. The first group of trainees was to begin their classes the week following our visit to New York. To that time, the police department has not been involved with the selection of the trainees. There seemed to be a general feeling among police officers that the program was just another give away and it was in effect a lowering of police selection standards. Some fears were also expressed in St. Louis that the program might result in a relaxing of the selection criteria.

Only time will tell whether or not these programs are to be successful, but they seem to be a step in the right direction. If they are properly executed, a considerable number of qualified applicants should emerge from the training programs and no resultant lowering of standards need take place.

In conclusion, present police selection standards should be reevaluated in light of the requirements of the job and in accordance with present manpower needs. They should not be analyzed simply in order to qualify more minority group members, but rather to be certain that capable applicants are not eliminated for some reason that is part of the folklore of personnel selection.

Assignment. Personnel assignments should be made on the basis of departmental needs. Unfortunately, this dictum is not as clear cut as one would think. Nor, for that matter, is it generally applied. Under these circumstances it is

difficult to offer guidelines to proper police practice in terms of the assignment of minority group officers. The clamor is loud but inconsistent. Within the same city, request were found that Negro officers be assigned to work Negro areas and at the same time there was an expressed desire to have them allocated to white sections of the community. You hear complaints of inefficiency, yet innovations such as the one-man patrol car are attacked because patrol cars are not integrated. You discover that some members of the minority community feel that their area of the city is over-policed while others react to what they call under-policing. How should, then, the police administrator respond to these conflicting points of view?

First, under no circumstances should an individual be assigned a task simply because of his color or ethnic background. While it is often true that a Latin American officer performs well in a neighborhood consisting of his compatriots, it is not just because of his nationality, but more likely because of his language skills or his understanding of the community. For these reasons, the man should be assigned. Likewise, a Negro should not be given an assignment simply because he is black and will blend in with the community, but because he can more easily establish rapport with it. An officer should be assigned only because he is the best man to do the job under the existing circumstances.

Second, the integration of departmental assignments should be a matter of policy. Not for integration's sake, but because each police officer has a right to be assigned according to his ability. Positive action by the police administrator is required in this area. At least one study[9] has indicated that the average white police officer is subject to the same prejudices as are found in the community at large. Often, if this matter is left to individual option, the result will be informal segregation. The Chicago case mentioned earlier speaks to this point. Baltimore's recent "forced" integration of cars further indicates difficulty in integration.

The survey also discovered more confusion than purposeful discrimination in the area of assignment. Many chiefs expressed dismay at conflicting requests coming from the community. In a large western city, the chief responded to a suggestion for a Negro foot patrolman in a specific area by complying, only to be faced with charges of discrimination in assignment from the same sources of the orginal request. It seems as though foot patrol is degrading.

Tables II and III indicate the assignment trends found in northern and southern communities. While both reveal a movement toward general integration, considerable segregation is still obvious in certain sections of the country.

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[9]William Kephart, Racial Factors in Urban Law Enforcement. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957.)

Promotion. Some of our earlier comments as to the reasons for the limited success in minority group recruiting are pertinent here. But the fault does not entirely reside on the doorstep of history or prejudice. The entire promotional structure of the police service leaves much to be desired. While the area is not strictly within the purview of this study, an aspect of it has an important bearing upon our interests. One of the most important factors in the promotional system of police agencies is seniority. Without a certain number of years in grade a man is normally not eligible to participate in the process. In some jurisdictions credit is formally given for experience in terms of years of service. Finally, despite all comments to the contrary, it is common to find a high correlation between seniority and promotion. A county police force was visited in which the descending order of years of service matched exactly the rank structure of the department. The most noticeable reversal of this situation was in Chicago where promotion appeared to follow merit principles rather than seniority.

Since the limited number of minority group officers are of relatively recent vintage, it is very unlikely that any significant number of them will reach supervisory or command positions in the near future. Several communities have minority group officers in supervisory, command, or positions carrying relatively high rank, but it would appear that tokenism is a very common motive. (See Table IV.)[10]

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[10] Ibid.

TABLE III

ASSIGNMENT PRACTICES

City	Foot Patrol		Motor Patrol	
	White Area	Negro Area	White Area	Negro Area
Birmingham, Ala.	W N	W N	W N	W N
Tucson, Arizona			W N	W N
Little Rock, Ark.			W N	W N
Mountain View, Calif.			W	W
Oakland, Calif.	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N
San Jose, Calif.	W N	W N	W N	W N
Santa Ana, Calif.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Aurora, Colorado	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Hartford, Conn.	W N	W N	W N	W N
Washington, D.C.	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Jacksonville, Fla.			W	W N
Tampa, Fla.	W N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Atlanta, Ga.	W N	W N	W N	W N
Savannah, Ga.	W N	W N	W N	W N
Honolulu, Hawaii	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Boise, Idaho	W		W	W
Aurora, Illinois	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Rockford, Ill.	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Evansville, Ind.	W	W	W N	W N
Fort Wayne, Ind.	W N	W N	W N	W N
Indianapolis, Ind.	W N	W N	W N	W N
Topeka, Kansas			W T N	W T N
Baton Rouge, La.	W	N	W	W N
New Orleans, La.	W	N	W	W N
Boston, Mass.	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Detroit, Mich.	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Lansing, Mich.	W	W	W	W
Pontiac, Mich.	W N	W N	W T N	W T N
Minneapolis, Minn.	W N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Independence, Mo.	W	W	W	W
Kansas City, Mo.			W T N	W T N
Elizabeth, N. J.	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Jersey City, N. J.	W N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Buffalo, N. Y.	W N	W N	W T N	W T N
Rochester, N. Y.	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Syracuse, N. Y.	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N
Yonkers, N. Y.	W N	W N	W T N	W T N
Winston-Salem, N.C.			W T N	W T N
Dayton, Ohio	W N	W N	W T N	W T N
Portsmouth, Ohio	W N		W T N	W T N
Toledo, Ohio	W T N	W T N	W T N	W T N

City	Foot Patrol						Motor Patrol					
	White Area			Negro Area			White Area			Negro Area		
Allentown, Pa.	W			W			W			W		
Scranton, Pa.	W			W			W			W		
Sioux Falls, S.Dakota	W						W					
Beaumont, Texas						N	W			W		
Midland, Texas	W	T	N				W	T	N	W	T	N
Ogden, Utah	W			W			W			W		
Newport News, Va.	W		N	W		N	W		N	W		N
Madison, Wis.	W						W					
West Allis, Wis.	W						W					
Cheyenne, Wyoming	W		N	W		N	W		N	W		N
County												
Dade County, Fla.	W	T	N	W	T	N	W	T	N	W	T	N
Nassau County, N.Y.	W	T	N	W	T	N	W	T	N	W	T	N

"W" - White Officers
"N" - Negro Officers
"T" - Integrated Team
N.A.- No Answer

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NEGRO SWORN OFFICERS BY DEPARTMENT

City	Command		Supervisory		*Detective		Patrolman	
	W.	N.	W.	N.	W.	N.	W.	N.
Birmingham, Ala.	22	N.A.	32	N.A.	64	N.A.	359	N.A.
Tucson, Arizona	20	0	48	0	35	0	170	3
Little Rock, Ark.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Mountain View, Calif.	7	0	8	0	5	0	28	0
Oakland, Calif.	39	1	132	1	N.A.	N.A.	501	14
San Jose, Calif.	19	0	75	1	N.A.	N.A.	223	2
Santa Ana, Calif.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Aurora, Colorado	11	0	11	0	N.A.	N.A.	42	0
Hartford, Conn.	27	1	39	0	40	5	216	29
Washington, D.C.	175	5	282	51	118	20	1770	455
Jacksonville, Fla.	52	0	98	5	N.A.	N.A.	214	27
Tampa, Fla.	30	0	91	1	71	2	278	10
Atlanta, Ga.	49	1	38	2	98	19	527	51
Savannah, Ga.	14	0	24	3	14	2	102	23
Honolulu, Hawaii	14	0	31	0	7	0	103	0
Boise, Idaho	5	0	12	0	11	0	61	0
Aurora, Illinois	10	0	10	0	9	0	53	1
Rockford, Ill.	8	0	10	0	24	0	123	1
Evansville, Ind.	28	0	39	2	N.A.	N.A.	157	6
Fort Wayne, Ind.	23	1	35	1	23	2	166	3
Indianapolis, Ind.	66	5	186	17	42	27	543	44
Topeka, Kansas	26	0	15	1	12	1	76	7
Baton Rouge, La.	29	0	62	0	12	0	158	12
New Orleans, La.	85	1	83	6	11	0	868	37
Boston, Mass.	117	0	244	1	166	1	1904	42
Detroit, Mich.	218	2	353	7	350	12	3287	149
Lansing, Mich.	21	0	30	0	16	0	111	0
Pontiac, Mich.	11	0	15	1	8	1	78	3
Minneapolis, Minn.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Independence, Mo.	10	0	14	0	8	0	56	0
Kansas City, Mo.	61	1	245	10	105	7	456	23
Elizabeth, N. J.	24	1	28	0	27	2	184	9
Jersey City, N. J.	86	0	108	2	87	5	521	26
Buffalo, N. Y.	135	1	202	4	127	3	870	16
Rochester, N. Y.	45	1	57	1	51	2	347	17
Syracuse, N. Y.	36	0	81	0	N.A.	N.A.	274	8
Yonkers, N. Y.	40	0	37	2	31	2	318	13
Winston-Salem, N. C.	16	0	43	2	5	1	129	7
Dayton, Ohio	22	0	55	1	35	3	259	9
Portsmouth, Ohio	5	2	11	0	4	0	30	1
Toledo, Ohio	57	1	71	0	N.A.	N.A.	475	12

City	Command		Supervisory		*Detective		Patrolman	
	W.	N.	W.	N.	W.	N.	W.	N.
Allentown, Pa.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Scranton, Pa.	11	0	20	0	9	0	134	0
Sioux Falls, S.Dakota	12	0	12	0	6	0	54	0
Beaumont, Texas	12	0	15	0	21	1	74	1
Midland, Texas	13	0	13	0	N.A.	N.A.	60	1
Ogden, Utah	8	0	13	0	12	0	45	0
Newport News, Va.	23	1	16	1	N.A.	N.A.	100	3
Madison, Wis.	18	0	34	0	21	0	143	0
West Allis, Wis.	10	0	10	0	14	0	76	0
Cheyenne, Wyoming	4	1	16	1	N.A.	N.A.	34	1
County								
Dade County, Fla.	65	0	190	5	N.A.	N.A.	383	16
Nassau County, N. Y.	161	2	181	0	279	6	1861	17

*Some departments appearing to have no detectives, or appearing to have not answered the question, have possibly included their number under another category; for example, Detective Sergeant, which would be included under supervisory personnel.

N.A. - No answer to question
W - White Officers
N 0 Negro Officers

Thus, in many jurisdictions there is a situation where command officers of minority group descent would be very useful for certain types of assignments, but such individuals are not likely to be available because of the relative lack of minority group officers in the lower rank. Since a double standard is inappropriate, the best recommendation is a careful review of promotional procedures to be certain that the discrimination of the past has been eliminated, and a reevaluation of the entire process in reference to the command and supervisory needs of the department. Consideration might well be given to a partial suspension of the time in grade rules as was done in Chicago and Philadelphia a few years ago. Hopefully, a number of the minority group officers will rise under such an arrangement.

Use of "Sub-Professionals". For many years the police have tried to retain the generalist rank concept within their organizations. While a limited number of positions have been turned over to administrative and technical specialists in recent years, little has been done at the other end of the hierarchy. In many departments policemen still perform as dispatchers, jailers, clerical employees, etc. Such assignments are impractical and wasteful.

While some experimentation in this area is beginning, a much greater effort should be extended if its full potential is to be reached. With police officers being freed

for more appropriate work, you would think that police administrators would welcome this potential source of manpower. This simply is not universally true. They compare the "work performance" of a civilian with that of a sworn officer and stress the importance of the task under emergency circumstances and they quickly decide that "civilians" will not be satisfactory. We are not convinced by the laments of police executives. An objective reevaluation of this situation is imperative, because there is some evidence that such a study would suggest the recruitment of a wide variety of civilians.

Along these lines, there are under consideration a number of plans which would attempt to utilize minority group members as what might be referred to as "police and community relations aids". One such program is already underway in Richmond, California. Unfortunately, circumstances are such that there are mixed reactions to the program. Neither police nor the involved non-police seemed to have approached the plan with completely open minds. As a result, it is unlikely that it can receive an unbiased appraisal.

From a community relations point of view, such programs have a definite potential especially if young adults from minority groups can be employed. These positions should not be "make-work". There is a real opportunity for the accomplishment of meaningful, if limited, objectives and for the development of a further degree of mutual understanding.

TRAINING

The purpose of training in any context is to "change behavior along selected lines". There is presently an open debate as to whether behavior is really changed if attitude is left untouched. Without entering into the discussion, the survey team found that the programs offered in the police and community relations field reflect this dilemma. Three types of programs emerge. They are: Institutes; Recruit and In-service; and Supervisory and Command. Each must be judged in terms of their objectives first and the overall goal second.

Institutes. While the training of participating police officers has not been the single objective of so-called Institutes on Police and Community Relations, the training feature (more correctly, perhaps, educational feature) has been important among their goals. The annual National Institute on Police and Community Relations, held at Michigan State University since 1955, has been something of a pattern for many parallel programs which have developed across the country, largely as a result of promotion by regional offices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, often with the cooperation or co-sponsorship of other organizations. In fact, one of the goals of the National Institute has been the development of police and community

leadership, to stimulate counterpart programs at the local, state and sectional levels. This has occurred, and it is not unusual today to speak of a Ninth Annual Texas A & M University Institute on Police and Community Relations, an Eighth Annual Southern California Institute, a Fifth Annual Arizona State-wide Institute, or a Third Annual Cincinnati Institute.[11]

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[11]Announcements by various groups describing local Institutes have become common. While such releases are general in scope, they nonetheless indicate activity in the area of police and community relations. Often participants of the National Institute are instrumental in initiating and/or participating in local training sessions. A survey of issues, Number 17-18, of "Police and Community Relations Newsletter" is quite revealing in this regard. The following is only a partial listing:

A. The 4th Annual Long Island Workshop in Police and Community Relations was held this summer (1965) at Adelphi University and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

B. The Dayton, Ohio, Human Relations Commission sponsored, on Sept. 25, 1965, at the University of Dayton an Institute on Police-Community Relations. Of the 123 participants, 40 were police supervisory and command personnel, and 83 were community leaders from various agencies. This was the second Institute of its type held in Dayton in recent years. The Institute theme was LAW ENFORCEMENT, A TOTAL COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY. . .

C. The 8th Annual Texas A & M University Institute on Police and Community Relations was held August 15-19, 1965. The attendance of approximately 75 persons was comprised of police and community leaders from Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma . . .

D. The 8th Annual Southern California Institute was held at the University of Southern California on April 21, 1965. The Institute was co-sponsored by California State College at Long Beach, at Los Angeles, and the University of Southern California in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews Southern California Region...

11 continued on next page.

These conferences run for one day, sometimes only part of one day, sometimes two or three days, and in a few cases are of five days duration. For the most part, the participants include police officers (frequently with command or supervisory responsibilities in their respective departments), and in addition, some community representation usually heavily weighted with human relations agency professionals, plus some educators, clergy, social workers, etc. Some Institutes approach a 50-50 proportion of police and non-police. Others are as much as 80 percent police.

In the State of New Jersey particularly, during the past ten years, there have been approximately thirty-five so-called Police Institutes on Community Relations. The participants in such an Institute are entirely police personnel with perhaps as many as seventy-five enrolled for one series of sessions of three hours each for six weeks. Most of the police enrollees are from one department but with some police from neighboring departments also in attendance. Visiting consultants provide the instruction through lectures, followed by discussion in small groups, with a concluding hour of discussion with the lecturer. The total

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[11]Con't.

E. A one day Institute on Police and Community Relations was held on January 27, 1965, in Portland, the Institute was sponsored by NCCJ in cooperation with the Portland Police Department, and the Multnomah County Sheriff's Department...

of eighteen hours of instruction is essentially police training in the field of community relations.

How can those various types and levels of Institutes be evaluated from a training standpoint? In no case have sophisticated, scientific techniques for evaluation been employed, not even in the National Institute, e.g., as to degree of attitude change among participants, etc. But some use has been made of post-meeting-reaction sheets and skilled observation by Institute staff, discussion group leaders, and other special resource people involved in the programs. On this precarious basis, however, several generalizations may be formulated, as to the value of the police training dimension of these Institute-type projects:

1. There is little doubt that some measure of new knowledge, information, facts, and even heightened sensitivity, has been imparted--of indefinite and incalcuable tenacity, significance, practical applicability, etc.
2. For many police officers, the Institute has opened a new universe of social phenomena which, for the first time in many instances, he begins to see, not simply as relevant to his job, but as "stuff I ought to know", to use his language.
3. The above occurs while many police officers, at

the same time, maintain a hostile attitude toward the program, the material taught, etc. It is like a child taking medicine. It's distasteful, but he knows it is good for him. This implies that human relations training for police is a strange brew; it is unlike other aspects of police training in that it encounters a special kind of resistance, psychologically, in the trainee--what might be termed an "acceptance-and-rejection" syndrome, a species of internal conflict.

4. Top police administrators in many places have associated themselves with the Institutes, often as chairmen, speakers, welcomers and endorsers, etc. However nominal and ritualistic this association may have been in some cases, the impression is transmitted to line police officers that education (training) in this field is regarded as important by police officials whose views are important to line service personnel. This, in turn, has helped create a "climate" in which at least overt discriminatory behavior by a police officer is increasingly unpopular. This is not to say that such unprofessional behavior no longer occurs. But it does suggest that public attention is now increasingly focused upon instances

of such police behavior, and that police are more and more hard pressed to defend it, indeed, to conceal it.

3. The Institutes, collectively considered, have tended to create a certain atmosphere of what a police executive must say and think and do, in order to be "in"--measured by the contemporary ebb-tide within the trade. For whatever motivation, police administrators are learning what to say and how to say it, in community relations terms. This is hardly a lofty achievement of the Institutes, but in the practical sense, it is probably more important that a police executive is <u>for</u> certain community relations objectives, than <u>why</u> he is for them!

What should be the future of these Institute-type programs? They should continue, and will probably multiply in number and variety, probably with increasing focus upon specific aspects of the field. They should be more and more localized in their scope, moving from issue-orientation in program planning to problem-solving. For a time, it may appear that the "high wall" separating police and community, as evident in Institutes, is higher and thicker than ever. But this should dissolve as each side increasingly discovers that conflict is resolved in proportion as the

"contestants" recognize what is essential to mutual welfare that they undertake in cooperation and teamwork--that each side is inseparable and a part of the other.

These programs should then continue but greater care should be taken of the Institute-type program, subject to the conditions and especially with respect to the need for more systematic, scientific evaluations at a fundamental level of police performance.

Recruit and In-service. Police and community relations training is often found as part of the formal curriculum of police training programs. The amount of allotted time for this subject matter varies from department to department. While some departments offered no community relations training whatsoever, others presented from one to thirty hours of classroom instruction. Most offerings take place at the recruit level with relatively little attention being given to in-service training. Further, it is usually the larger departments that offer such instruction, but many large, medium and small agencies give little or no attention at all to this type of subject matter. The following departments represent the type of offerings presented in municipal departments.

The Albany Georgia Police Department offers a very minimal exercise in the general area of community relations training. The training schedule provides a two hour time

block involving the topical presentation of "Law Enforcement as a Profession; Police Ethics; and Civil Rights", and later in the program two additional hours are devoted to describing "Police Courtesy and Public Relations". Both blocks are instructed by FBI Special Agents, and this comprises the total training time allotted to this type of subject matter out of a total of approximately 76 hours of recruit instruction.

The Flint, Michigan, Police Department lists 7 out of a total of 240 hours in police-community relations. The program includes: four hours of instruction entitled "Police-Community Relations" divided equally between an instructor in social studies from the General Motors Institute and the Director of the Urban League, and three hours of material on "Public Relations" offered by an instructor from within the police department. This program appears to be a bit more innovative than that existing in Albany, Georgia due to the inclusion of civilian instructors. However, once again the time allotted to police-community relations is minimal.

Chicago, in their accelerated recruit curriculum, describes a fifteen hour block of instruction called the "Social Science Unit". Essentially, it leaves the recruit with only 4 hours of valuable community relations training.

RECRUIT CURRICULUM - 11 WEEKS

SOCIAL SCIENCE UNIT

	Hours
Causative Factors of Delinquency	5
Police/Minority Groups (G) - NCCJ	4
Juvenile Procedures	4
Subversive Activities (G)	2
TOTAL HOURS	15

Recently, two states (New York and California) have developed minimum standards of training for police officers within their jurisdictions. Both programs offer a limited number of hours in community relations. All titles listed are important and certainly training in each essential. However, since the police function largely involves interpersonal contact, a considerable increase in human relations, police and community relations, and race relations training seems appropriate. It is difficult to recommend any specific number of hours as being the optimum in this field. This must be determined for each locale according to existing problems and needs. New York's three hours in "police-community relations: human relations" and California's two hours of "race relations" are attempts to present complicated and difficult subject matter in too short a time period.

In the ideal sense, police and community relations train-

EXHIBIT I

New York[12]

Municipal Police Basic Training Program

	Course	Hours
1.	Registration, Orientation, and Classroom Notebook	1
2.	The Role of Law Enforcement	2
3.	Police Community Relations; Human Relations	3
4.	Laws of Arrest, Search, Seizure; Civil Rights, Civil Liberties, Constitutional Guarantees	5
5.	Code of Criminal Procedure	4
6.	Penal Law	7
7.	Vehicle and Traffic Law	5
8.	Traffic Control and Accident Investigation	5
9.	Laws of Evidence	4
10.	Physical Evidence	4
11.	Court Testimony	3
12.	Interviews, Notes, Admissions, Statements and Report Writing	5
13.	The Patrol Function	3
14.	Firearms	8
15.	Defensive Tactics	4
16.	Techniques and Mechanics of Arrest	4
17.	Emergency Aid to Persons	8
18.	The Youthful Offender Law, The Children's Court Act and The Handling of Juveniles	3
19.	Examination	2
	Total	80

[12]Allen Z. Gammage. Police Training in the United States. (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1963), pp. 42-43.

EXHIBIT II

Basic Peace Officers' Training Course,
California State Department of Education[13]

Subject	Hours
Public Relations	6
Introduction and Miscellaneous Subjects	3
Notebooks - Note Taking (School and Field)	5
Race Relations	2
Firearms	12
Self Defense	12
Court Appearance and Conduct	2
Care and Use of Departmental Equipment	1
Crowd Control: Civil Disturbances and Riot Control	4
First Aid	18
Patrol Procedures and Observations	8
Fundamentals of Penal Code and Related Laws	10
Report Writing, Modus Operandi Report	8
Juvenile Procedure	4
Transportation of Prisoners and Insane Persons	1
Mechanics of Arrest	6
Searches and Seizures	2
Law of Arrest	4
Rules of Evidence	6
Value of Scientific Aid	4
Police Procedures	18
Principles of Investigation	12
Traffic	12
Interviews and Interrogation	8
Fundamentals of Civil Process	8
Powers and Duties of the Sheriff	4
Total Hours	180

[13]The Institute for Training in Municipal Administration. Municipal Police Administration. (Chicago: Fifth Edition. The International City Managers Association, 1961), p. 184.

ing focuses upon the presentation of sociological, social psychological, and psychological subject matter which enables trainees to gleen some appreciation for the rationals underlying certain aspects of human behavior. Programs allotting a very limited time usually center upon prejudicial behavior dealing largely with its origin, nature and effect upon the police function. They appear to be designed to help the police recruit, understand and deal with prejudice in the light of his job.

Quite often, the ideal and reality bear little relation to one another, and human relations training is no exception. Recently, the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the United States Conference of Mayors conducted a study of cities of over 30,000 pepulation in an effort to "gather information on police policies, practices, and problems with respect to community relations and racial demonstrations."[14] The following quotation making reference to Human Relations Training is quite revealing and carries important implications:

> "Yet, while 143, or 86%, of the responding departments in the primary study group offer some training in human relations for their officers, a review of the kind of training being offered reveals a wide diversity in both scope and quality.

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[14]See International Association of Chiefs of Police National Conference of Mayors Joint Survey. "Police-Community Relations Policies and Practices: A National Survey", and also Survey Supplement, "Current Approaches--Police Training and Community Relations". No date.

> In examining sample course outlines it appears that some of the courses are rather sketchy, leaving much to the individual imagination of each officer. Others seem very well conceived and some are highly specialized. (In at least one department specialization in training extends to giving foreign language training to those officers assigned to a section of the city in which much of the population speaks a foreign tongue.) Some departments consider training in riot control formations and tactics the major and sufficient component of a training program, while in other cases emphasis is also on human relations courses--psychology, minority groups relations, civil rights and constitutional law. The topic which dominates police-human relations training is "public relations" --63% offer instruction in this area. The lack of consensus as to what constitutes adequate and proper training poses a real problem."[15]

This last sentence is quite significant. A substantial need is indicated in the study for definition and consensus as to what constitutes police and community relations training. It is rather obvious that riot formations and tactics are not directly related to community relations, and belong under an operational classification rather than under community or human relations.

It is not surprising that the IACP data reveals that 63% of the respondents reported public relations as part of their overall community relations approach. The data uncovered during the site visitations and from the question-

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[15] Ibid. Page 7

naire survey also confirms incidence of the same subject.

Table V is a compilation of results drawn from a survey of cities throughout the United States whose population is over 25,000. A sampling of state and county police agencies is also included. The reader should be careful in interpreting this exhibit in any manner that would stress a high degree of accuracy. Many of the figures and classifications are broad and were supplied by the replying police agency. Their classifications are utilized and it is quite possible that they do not coincide with the common usage of the terminology involved. For example, the reader will note disproportionately high figures under the category of human relations. It is quite possible that respondents classified the remaining categories of public realtions, sociology, psychology and civil rights as human relations training.

Community relations is more than public realtions. Within the police context public relations is usually "concerned with the development of a public attitude favorable to the accomplishment of the police purpose."[16] The Michigan State Police believe, "public relations is activity which serves to promote better feeling between persons, groups, or agencies which make up the general public".[17] In practice,

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[16]O. W. Wilson, Police Administration. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950, p. 386.

[17]Michigan State Police, Police-Public Relations. East Lansing: Michigan State Police Training School, no date, p. 1.

TABLE V

Police-Community Relations Training in Selected Cities

City	Human Relations	Public Relations	Sociology	Psychology	Civil Rights	Total PCR Training Hours / Total Recruit Training Hours
500,000 + population						
Washington, D.C.	40 B	*Inc. H.R.	0	0	2 P	42/165 = 25.5%
Kansas City, Mo.	4 B	4 P	0	0	2 C	10/504 = 2%
Detroit, Michigan	22 C	0	4 P	0	6 B	32/480 = 6.7%
Boston, Mass.	30 P	8 P	6 C	4 C	10 B	58/520 = 11.2%
Indianapolis, Ind.	11 B	2 P	0	8 C	2 C	23/560@ = 4.1%
Honolulu, Hawaii	2 P	6 P	0	0	2 P	10/480 = 2.1%
Atlanta, Georgia	4 P	2 C	1 C	2 P	4 P	13/288 = 4.5%
Buffalo, N. Y.	12 C	4 C	5 B	0	6 C	27/446 = 6.1%
250,000 + population						
Dayton, Ohio	6 P	4 P	10 C	8 C	4 P	32/680@ = 4.7%
New Orleans, La.	4 C	7 P	0	0	Inc. H.R.	11/560@ = 2%
Rochester, N. Y.	6 B	2 C	0	0	4 P	12/575@ = 2.1%

City	Human Relations	Public Relations	Sociology	Psychology	Civil Rights	Total PCR Training Hours / Total Recruit Training Hours
250,000 + population						
Tampa, Fla.	2 P	4 P	2 C	0	2 P	10/360 = 2.8%
Toledo, Ohio	12 P	6 P	0	2 C	2 C	22/540 = 4.1%
Jersey City, N. J.	13 B	5 P	3 P	3 C	11 C	35/310 = 11.3%
Minneapolis, Minn.	40 C	12 B	22 C	Inc.Soc.	6 P	84/400 = 21%
San Jose, Calif.	2#	6	0	2	12	22/220 = 10%
Oakland, Calif.	0	8 P	0	0	0	8/320 = 2.5%
Birmingham, Ala.	10 P	2 P	0	0	1 P	13/300 = 4.3%
100,000 ÷ population						
Lansing, Mich.	8 C	6 P	4 P	6 P	Inc. HR.	24/320 = 7.5%
Elizabeth, N. J.	8 P	8 P	0	0	3 P	19/280 = 6.8%
Allentown, Pa.	3 C	2 C	0	0	6 C	11/480 = 2.3%
Savannah, Ga.	2 P	1 P	0	0	0	3/192 = 1.6%

City	Human Relations	Public Relations	Sociology	Psychology	Civil Rights	Total PCR Training Hours / Total Recruit Training Hours
100,000 ÷ cont.						
Yonkers, N. Y.	8 B	2 B	0	0	0	10/500 = 2%
Madison, Wis.	2 B	2 B	1 B	2 B	2 B	9/520 = 1.7%
Newport News, Va.	0	8 P	0	12 C	8 P	28/85 = 32.9%
Scranton, Pa.	1 P	1 P	0	0	2 P	4/72 = 5.6%
Winston-Salem, N.C.	9 C	2 C	0	0	4 P	15/432 = 3.5%
Syracuse, N. Y.	10 P	7 P	2 P	4 C	10 P	33/320 = 10.3%
Independence, Mo.	8 P	8 P	8 P	8 P	8 C	40/480 = 8.3%
Baton Rouge, La.	0	6 C	0	0	0	6/320 = 1.9%
Evansville, Ind.	4 P	4 P	2 C	2 C	2 P	14/120 = 11.7%
Rockford, Ill.	4	4	4	2	2	16/160 = 10%
Jacksonville, Fla.	2 B	2 P	5 P	10 C	2 P	21/560@ = 3.8%
Hartford, Conn.	0	2 P	0	12 C	6 C	20/400 = 5%

City	Human Relations	Public Relations	Sociology	Psychology	Civil Rights	Total PCR Training Hours / Total Recruit Training Hours
100,000 + cont.						
Santa Ana, Calif.	2 P	2 P	0	0	2 P	6/360 = 1.7%
Tucson, Arizona	4 B	8 B	0	0	6 B	18/560@ = 3.2%
- 100,000 population						
Pontiac, Mich.	2 C	3 P	0	0	3 P	8/240 = 3.3%
Portsmouth, Ohio	0	0	0	0	0	0/80 = 0
West Allis, Wis.	8 P	32 P	0	0	2 P	42/240 = 17.5%
Boise, Idaho	4 P	4 P	0	0	2 P	10/(N.A.) =
Ogden, Utah	4	Inc. H.R.	6	0	0	10/168 = 6%
Midland, Texas	16 P	5 P	0	0	0	21/480 = 4.4%
Sioux Falls, S. Dakota	2 P	6 P	0	0	2 P	10/320 = 3.1%
Aurora, Illinois	7 P	1 B	0	Inc. H.R.	2 B	10/160 = 6.3%
Aurora, Colorado	5 P	10 P	3 C	3 C	4 P	25/210 = 11.9%

City	Human Relations	Public Relations	Sociology	Psychology	Civil Rights	Total PCR Training Hours / Total Recruit Training Hours
- 100,000 population						
Mountain View, Calif.	12 P	6 P	Inc. H.R.	Inc. H.R.	Inc. H.R.	18/200 = 9%
State Agencies						
Kansas Highway Patrol	4 P	2 P	0	0	2 C	8/450 = 1.8%
N. Y. State Police	2 C	2 C	0	0	2 P	6/640@ = .9%
Texas Dept. of Public Safety	3 C	3 C	5 C	5 C	2 C	18/820@ = 2.2%
Minnesota Highway Patrol	0	0	0	0	1 P	1/576@ = .2%
Alaska State Police	4 P	4 P	0	0	0	8/240 = 3.3%
County Agencies						
Dade County, Fla.	2 P	14 P	0	16 C	6 P	38/616@ = 6.2%
Nassau County, N. Y.	7 B	12 B	6 B	6 B	6 B	37/436 = 8.5%

Chart Key

"P" = Police personnel utilized as instructors.
"C" = Civilian personnel utilized as instructors.
"B" = A combination of police and civilian personnel utilized as instructors.

Inc. H.R.= The number of hours devoted to this particular area was not available since it had been included in the area of training referred to, to wit, Human Relations training.

@ = These departments, due to their excessively high number of recruit training hours, have possibly included a certain amount of probationary preventive patrol time in their total number of recruit training hours.

= It could not be determined whether the instructors were police or civilian personnel.

N.A. = This information was not available.

this has meant presentation of "police thinking" on policies and their explanation to the general public. The approach has largely been one-way dialogue: police to public, as this was found to be the case in many cities.

The police are responsible for establishing enforcement policies and procedures for their jurisdiction within the limits set by law and government administration. The degree to which such policies and procedures conflict with the values held by the community as a whole, as well as certain segments of the community (minority groups) will in effect determine the police and community relationship. Therefore, police and community relations should consist of machinery set up in order to gather information to understand their community and its way of life, so that policy and procedural conflicts are limited in scope. Once the community, as a whole and segments of it, are understood in an empathetic manner, then the police can change, modify, or explain their actions as needed. Thus, community relations can be viewed as the overall process, and public relations, human relations, and race relations held as means helpful in working toward a meaningful police and community relationship.

Communities differ in their composition and problems, but it is also true that they share an equal number too. This paradox produces a training curriculum enigma in that

it makes recommending a single "set" series of courses impossible, However, some large police agencies present basic programs that are capable of being "localized" for use in other cities.

Large training programs limited to and found within metropolitan centers go considerably further in their presentation. In some police academies, recruits receive what is tantamount to an introductory course in sociology and/or social psychology. Two cities provide pertinent examples: St. Louis and Philadelphia. St. Louis offers such an introductory course in sociology and Philadelphia presents a rather unique approach utilizing role-playing supplemented with lecture materials.

St. Louis offers 34 hours of instruction in a "Community Relations and Human Behavior Curriculum For Recruit Officers." They use civilian instructors to a large degree, and some interviewees indicated that because of their civilian status the recruit officers tended to view them as "outsiders". Also, there is a new program in the developmental stage that will be designed to exceed the offering described in Exhibit III. New York and Philadelphia have similar programs.

At the request of the Philadelphia Police Department, the Applied Psychological Services of Wayne, Pennsylvania in consultation with the Philadelphia City Commission on

Human Relations developed a human relations training program. As indicated earlier, it consists of both lecture materials and role-playing situations. The programs objectives are stated as follows:

1. The Development in Police Officers of an Appreciation of the Civil Rights of the Public.
2. The Development in Police Officers of the Ability to Meet Without Undue Militance, Aggressiveness, Hostility, or Prejudice, Police Situations Involving Minority Groups.
3. The Development in Police Officers of an Adequate Social Perspective.
4. The Development in Police Officers of an Awareness of Individual and Group Differences.
5. The Development of an Understanding by Police Officers of How Their Words and Actions May Be Perceived by the Public.
6. The Development in Police Officers of an Acceptance of Integrated Situations.
7. To Develop in Police Officers a Knowledge of the Fact That Their Behavior will Infuse Similar Inter-Group Behaviors and Attitudes in Other Members of the Police Force.
8. The Development in Police Officers of a Recognition and Awareness of the Role of Associated Community Human Relations Agencies.
9. The Development in Police Officers of the Skills Requisits for Anticipating and Meeting the Police-Human Relations Aspects of: (a) Their Work; (b) Incidents Rooted in Factors of Race, Religion, and National Origin; (c) Juvenile Offenses; (d) Civil Rights Complaints; and (e) Community Tensions.[18]

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[18]Siegel, Arthur I. and Roy C. Baker, Police-Human Relations Training. Wayne, Pennsylvania: Applied Psychological Services, 1960, pp. 79-84. See also Siegel, Arthur I., Philip Tederman, and Douglas Schultz, Professional Police Human Relations Training, Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1963.

EXHIBIT III

SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR CURRICULUM

FOR RECRUIT OFFICERS

I. PSYCHIATRIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL... 5 hours
Father Trafford Maher, S.J.
Saint Louis University

II. THE AMERICAN CULTURE..... 3 hours
Dr. George Hyram
Saint Louis University

III. HUMAN BEHAVIOR..... 2 hours
Dr. Lawrence Nicholson
Harris Teachers' College and
Saint Louis University

IV. SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION.....12 hours
Alcoholism, Narcotic Addiction and
Drug Abuse..... 4 hours
Dr. Joseph Kendis and Staff
Department of Psychiatry
Washington University
Suicide..... 2 hours
Dr. Eli Robbins and Staff
Department of Psychiatry
Washington University
Social Malajustment and Sex Deviation..... 2 hours
Dr. Lee Rainwater
Washington University
Mental Illness..... 3 hours
Dr. Robert Felix
Department of Psychiatry
Saint Louis University
Delinquent and Criminal Behavior..... 1 hour
Mr. William Handy
Community Relations Manager

V. THE SAINT LOUIS COMMUNITY..... 5 hours
Dr. William Moore
Carver School

VI. MECHANICS OF THE POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS
PROGRAM..... 1 hour
Mr. William Handy
Community Relations Manager

VII. PSYCHOLOGY OF PREJUDICE..... 5 hours
Father Trafford Maher, S.J.
Saint Louis University

VIII. MASS MEDIA RELATIONS..... 1 hour

Total.....34 hours

Further, the case materials were developed and selected according to the following criteria:

1. Realism--to increase student motivation and reinforce positive cues.
2. Completeness--to decrease speculative thinking.
3. Problem Inclusion--to take advantage of the "learn by doing" concept.
4. Thought Provocation--to allow for entrance into the discussion of officers with different points of view and to allow for intensive investigation of various solution avenues.
5. Decision Demanding--to allow "closure".
6. Currentness--to provide a basis for "transfer of training" to similar situations which the student will meet on his duty assignment.[19]

The program consists of 30 instructional hours with a maximum of 20 students per class. Philadelphia seems to be quite happy with it and it is presently being utilized. However, it has never even been scientifically evaluated.

Very few departments, but an ever growing number, are making police and community relations training an integral part of their in-service programs. While the very largest departments have developed police and community relations training as part of their regular annual retraining for advanced or senior patrolmen, other departments depend upon external sources such as the previously mentioned institutes or the courses offered by colleges and universities. Another type program of recent design involves the presentation of police and community relations training to the officers of one or more departments under Federal grant.

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[19] Ibid. Page 112.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has sponsored offerings for the Detroit Police Department and for law enforcement officers in Lake County, Indiana.

The Detroit experiment grew out of a recommendation by Greenleigh Associates. While studying poverty in Detroit, it suggested that that the police should be provided with special training in police and community relations with particular reference to low-income and minority areas throughout the city. Local poverty officials sought and received a Federal subsidy through the Office of Economic Opportunity and proceeded to offer the eight session course four times from July through October, 1965.[20]

The course content was essentially borrowed from Siegel and Associates, but it was adapted to the local (Detroit) situations. "Fundamental to the approach taken in the program was the belief that hostility to police is not caused so much by occasional incidents where excessive force may be involved, as by the chronic repetition of clumsy manners, insensitive and rude communications to citizens, and thoughtless indignities."[21] Lectures ran as follows:

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[20] See Experience Report 106, "Police-Community Relations Training in Detroit", Publication of the Community Relations Service, United States Conference of Mayors, May, 1966.

[21] Ibid.

Challenges of Contemporary Law Enforcement
--by a local judge
Successful Police Work in the Light of Recent Court Decisions
--by a lawyer
Community Changes as It Affects Police-Community Relations
--by the executive of the Citizens' Committee for Equal Opportunity
Law Enforcement and Prejudices
--by a psychologist
The Police in Emergency Community Situations
--by a police sergeant
Professional Police Work in a Changing Society
--by an Oak Park (III.) officer
The Civil Rights Movement in Perspective
--by an ex-director of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission
Increasing Community Support for Police Work
--by the Director of the Chicago Police Department's Police-Community Relations Bureau or by a staff member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police

A question period followed each lecture, then a coffee break, during which tables were set up for the group discussion to follow.[22]

Case studies were utilized in an effort to inject reality throughout the course, and police actors role-played episodes presenting situations involving problems in police-community relations. Discussion questions were distributed and groups sitting about tables disected the manner in which each incident was handled.

"This part was the life and heart of the training process. It gave each man the chance to tap his experience, say what he would have done, and defend his idea against the next man's.

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[22] Ibid.

> A mark of the effectiveness of this material was the continuing debates back in the squad-room. This stimulated considerable interest among officers awaiting training in later sessions.[23]

Citizen (non-police) participation was included, but only during the lecture portion of each program. After each lecture citizen participants were separated from police trainees and invited to air their views on the lecture materials to Community Relations Commission staff. Citizens were not allowed to attend or participate in police group discussions. All participants, police and citizens, were compensated at the rate of $3.50 per hour.[24]

An evaluation scheme per se was not built into the project, and therefore, classification as a success or failure is not feasible, but some interesting questions do arise. First, why was compensation at considerable expense to taxpayers provided to police and citizen participants? Training (both recruit and in-service) is an integral part of the overall responsibility of any police agency, and adequate provision should be made within the departmental training program to cover any needs that exist. If there is a need for police-community relations training, the police department should provide it. Police should be paid their

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[23] Ibid.

[24] The total cost of the Program was $213,222 (10% City; 90% Federal). Each police officer received $70.

normal salary, and adequate training provided during working hours.

Second, why was the participation of citizens so limited? The suggested rationale is indicated in the following quotation:

> "At first some police participants were dubious if not suspicious of such attendance. But the 'outsiders' did not attend the group discussions where they might have been a distracting or inhibiting factor."[25]

Thus, issues and problems were discussed only by the police with no real interaction with the Detroit community. A primary objective in any attempt to deal with police-community relations should be the propagation of mutual understanding between the police and the citizenry which they serve. The Detroit experiment through limiting citizen participation also limited an important and much needed source of feed-back, as to how residents view the police department, its policies, and procedures. If the police are to make any headway, true two-way communication must be developed.

The above example highlights what is probably the most germane critique uncovered furing this phase of the study, that is, the often one-sided character of police training programs. Although titles indicate the opposite, police offerings deal with police and community relations

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[25] Op. Cit. "Police-Community Relations Training in Detroit".

from the standpoint of public relations. The whole process is viewed as building and improving the stature of the police to meet their own (police) expectations. The techniques employed are certainly not designed to induce empathy on the part of the police. This statement is a considerable generalization and is meant to be. One point is clear. The police must seek means whereby they can fully comprehend and appreciate problems faced by poor minorities in urban centers and not just concentrate on imagery and how unrest affects police practices.

Judging from what could be determined generally, the police departments in large and some medium sized agencies provide their men with formal training in human relations. The men are introduced to the philosophy of public service and the concept of equal treatment for all citizens regardless of race, creed, or national origin. Further, they are given basic sociological and social psychological information designed to help them understand their own prejudice and guard against exercising it in their relations with others. They are taught a mannerly approach to be used in dealing with the public on a day-to-day basis. In short, they are instructed in the ideals of a "professional" policeman.

However, as the study unfolded, it became apparent that something occurs in the time period immediately following

recruit training when the recruit officer reaches the street. The majority of cities visited provided community relations training along with defined standards of conduct for their employees. Yet, each team received many complaints during the course of the interviews describing what amounted to a dual standard of treatment upon comparing upper and middle class neighborhoods with poorer residential districts.

Minority spokesmen voiced distaste at not being treated in accord with proper etiquette. Such complaints were not limited to serious incidents alone, but carried over into common everyday contacts such as traffic stops, field interrogations, etc. They expressed a desire to be treated as others adhering to proper manners afforded people in general.

Now, given the proper training as described previously, one might logically ask why the police behave in this manner?

A training program can only go so far as to present information that is supposed to be utilized in practice. Once an officer leaves the training facility, his behavior and subsequent traits are learned (or re-learned) from older officers and his supervisors.[26] Most likely he will

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[26]In a report entitled "Report on Investigations of Law Enforcement Claims Against the Detroit Police Department", the Michigan Civil Rights Commission commented:

"The record of disciplinary actions taken by the

Con't. on next page.

emulate their methods. The problem, therefore, lies in the fact that what was taught in the academy is not being implemented or reinforced in the field. Therefore, greater attention must be paid to reaching the older officer and the field supervisor if we are not to lose even our minimal accomplishments.

Many police training programs consist of internal exercises utilizing the services of policemen to train other policemen. In many technical areas this practice is quite sound, but in other areas, community relations in particular, such action is not justified. Some agencies have incorporated civilian instructors into their community relations curricula, but the practice is not sufficiently widespread. The need to increase such participation is evident.[27]

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[26]Con't.

Department in civil rights violations shows a practice of differential treatment. Disciplinary action went beyond written reprimand in only two instances where civil rights violations were charged. In too many cases the disciplinary measure invoked are not consistent with the seriousness of the offense. The Department has the demonstrated power to administer meaningful discipline for infractions of department regulations and it is clearly in the best interest of the community and Department members when disciplinary actions taken reflect the seriousness of the violation.

The Commission has emphasized to the Department the principle that disciplinary measures taken in civil rights cases must receive the same consideration as discipline applied in other violations. The Commission expressed publicly on April 27, 1965, and on a number of other occasions to the Department, its judgment that this has not happened in most civil rights cases."

[27]See Table V, under the appropriate classification.

Members of a police department hold a vested interest and generally are not able to see themselves in an objective light. There is a need to draw knowledgeable lay people from the various elements of the community into the formal training program of the department. True, such lay persons often possess biases when they come to the police, but the difference inherent in their outlook probably will provide valuable information to the police in general.

A substantial number of departments do utilize lay instructors in some aspects of community relations training quite successfully. Sociologist's, psychiatrist's, psychologist's, and social psychologist's services are easily obtained from colleges and universities in any given locale. However, more often than not, a particularly valuable avenue of communication is overlooked. Various groups from the community, including those engaged in civil rights, should be invited to participate with the police in training exercises. Such participation could aid considerably in increasing understanding between the police and their critics. One word of caution is in order. Participation should not be encouraged for the sake of participation alone, but where such participation enhances the quality of the training program, it is highly encouraged.

Foreign Language Training. Most large cities throughout this country have experienced an influx of persons who

have a primary language other than English. This situation is particularly evident in the Puerto Rican sections of Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and St. Louis. In order to facilitate communication, it seems highly commendable to provide foreign language training (in this case Spanish) to at least some of the officers working in these areas. Fear and misunderstanding grow out of an inability to communicate, and conversing with those who can only comprehend a foreign tongue in their language can assist in overcoming problems of understanding. Training of this nature has been and is being offered in New York and Philadelphia.

Supervisory and Command. Even though there is a considerable need for community relations training at the supervisory and command levels, little is available within departments. This should not, of course, be surprising since all but a very few police departments suffer generally from a lack of training for these officers. So police and community relations joins a long line of important subjects that have never made it to the podium.

If police and community relations training is to have its desired effect at the lowest levels, further training must be provided at the upper levels. Up to this time with the exception of a few hours in a limited number of supervisory courses and one or two command courses held in the largest departments like Chicago and New York, internal

programs at this level are almost non-existent. As a result, external offerings such as, the Institutes discussed earlier and a few seminars sponsored variously by the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the New York University have served as the sole training ground for these very important police officials. These activities are to be commended and hopefully will be expanded. The recent awarding of grants to the IACP and Michigan State University's National Center on Police and Community Relations may well help. For without the unrestricted support of these officers, any program is foredoomed to failure.

Conclusion. Police and community relations training suffers from the same malady which faces all police training. First, there is not enough quality training available. The smaller departments particularly do not possess sufficient resources to do the job. Great strides forward are occurring on a number of fronts, i.e., state training programs, the Law Enforcement Assistance grants, etc., but like all progress in American law enforcement it is checkered and proceeds only after a considerable amount of backtracking and a number of false starts.

Second, there are a wide variety of available programs, but almost none of them have been subjected to careful scientific evaluation. We know "What is?", but we cannot

offer much more than an educated guess as to "What works?".

Finally, when discussing training, a distinction should be made between competency and conduct. If a department does not know what to do, a competency problem probably exists, and as a result there are police and community relations difficulties. If, on the other hand, the department knows what is right and fails to do it, there is a conduct problem. Training can help in either case, but usually failures in conduct require more than training, namely supervision and discipline.

CHAPTER VI

POLICE FIELD ACTIVITIES AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Viewed collectively, line activity is at the core of police organization. However, when observed in terms of specialization, three distinct functions are commonly discernible: patrol, traffic and investigation.

The patrol function is of immediate interest since it encompasses the largest proportion of the citizen contacts and, therefore, is a focal point of police and community relations concern. Most of the following activities are treated in this context.

Further, the operational level of a law enforcement agency is clearly the most visible, and in fact, logically is the most representative of the entire enterprise. The second reason for the discussion of these essentials of the police field operation is that within this sphere of competence, perhaps moreso than anywhere else, that contact, particularly of a critical, and a negative nature, occurs with the members of the community. For example, apprehension and arrest, even under the best of circumstances, is not what might be considered a pleasant experience.

FIELD OPERATIONS

Patrol Techniques. Routine patrol is assigned on the basis of need, availability of manpower, and the geographical characteristics of the jurisdiction. Operationalized, these considerations put men on the street either as foot patrolmen or in motorized units. This differentiation in regard to types of patrol is relevant from a police and community relations perspective. The increasing trend toward efficiency has brought about a wider acceptance of the techniques of motorized patrol. Most recent has been the movement toward the utilization of one man patrol vehicles. These innovations have developed in response to a demand for greater and greater service levels. Unfortunately, motorized activities tend to be impersonal under normal conditions, resulting in, ultimately, contact of an official nature only. Since official business of the police is often unpleasant, it becomes moreso when the informal contacts which are a basis for most human relations, are decreased. Efficiency may well result from the motorization of police patrol activities. However, there can be no doubt that the department loses the opportunity for numerous informal police community contacts.

Field Interrogation. As a standard police practice, field interrogation serves to either keep an officer informed insofar as his patrol area is concerned or as a first step

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in a process generally calculated to apprehend violators. Although this practice is described variously as a "stop and chat" session, or a "field interview", its intended purpose is to gain information which is both useful to the officer and is necessary in the conduct of his daily task. Briefly, a field interrogation consists of stopping, questioning, and if warranted, searching an individual who presents himself in a suspicious situation. Defining a "suspicious situation" is extremely difficult but generally it is a dependent variable of surrounding circumstances. As an example, the field interrogation might be precipitated by a criminal incident or behavior and appearance which would cause a reasonable person to be inquisitive. Perhaps the largest variable of the procedure is the attitude of the conducting officer, some preferring a formal and officious approach taken appears to be related to the purpose of the procedure. Motivated by a high incident of criminal activity, it becomes a gambit for vigorous repression of crime, whereas, in the absence of criminal activity it is utilized primarily as a means of obtaining information relative to persons, places, and activity in a given locale; e.g., the patrolman's beat.

Field interrogation is widely used by municipal agencies. This statement is based upon observations made in the field and on the information furnished by municipal agencies in

response to the project's mail questionnaire.

Although some responding agencies indicated that they did not engage in a field interrogation program, a review of their departmental manuals reveals that they do in fact hold the patrolmen responsible for such activities. Being instructed to "examine night walkers when he has reason to suspect them of any unlawful designs...demand(ing) of them their business..."[1] and to be cautious "when making arrests or stopping suspicious characters..."[2] should serve to inform the officer as to his responsibilities. It is safe to assume from these and other similar citations that field interrogation is a routine patrol responsibility which, even when not specifically described as such, is implied in such orders. The discrepancy noted between some questionnaire responses and departmental manuals is not, however, interpreted by the study staff as being indicative of deception or ignorance, but rather it illustrates quite remarkably the vast difference between a highly formalized program and an informal procedure. By way of explication, an examination of each follows.

The Oakland, California, Police Department's field interrogation program appears to have been formally adopted in 1957. It is difficult, at this time, to estimate the

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[1] Birmingham, Alabama, Police Department Police Manual, Rules 238, 239, 249, pp. 34-35.

[2] Atlanta, Georgia, Police Department, Rules and Regulations, Rule 539, p. 65.

TABLE I

FIELD INTERROGATION PROGRAMS

	YES		NO
1.	Boston, Massachusetts	1.	Detroit Police Department
2.	Honolulu, Hawaii	2.	Indianapolis Police Department
3.	Dayton, Ohio	3.	Washington, D.C. Metro P.D.
4.	Rochester, New York	4.	Atlanta, Georgia
5.	Tampa, Florida	5.	Buffalo, New York
6.	Toledo, Ohio	6.	New Orleans, Louisiana
7.	Jersey City, New Jersey	7.	Birmingham, Alabama
8.	Minneapolis, Minnesota	8.	Lansing, Michigan
9.	San Jose, California	9.	Allentown, Pennsylvania
10.	Oakland, California	10.	Yonkers, New York
11.	Elizabeth, New Jersey	11.	Newport News, Virginia
12.	Madison, Wisconsin	12.	Scranton, Pennsylvania
13.	Rockford, Illinois	13.	Syracuse, New York
14.	Tucson, Arizona	14.	Independence, Missouri
15.	Santa Ana, California	15.	Baton Rouge, Louisiana
16.	Pontiac, Michigan	16.	Fort Wayne, Indiana
17.	Portsmouth, Ohio	17.	Evansville, Indiana
18.	Ogden, Utah	18.	Hartford, Connecticut
19.	Midland, Texas	19.	West Allis, Wisconsin
20.	Mountain View, California	20.	Boise, Idaho
21.	Dade County, Florida	21.	Sioux Falls, South Dakota
22.	Nassau County P.D.	22.	Aurora, Illinois
23.	Little Rock, Arkansas	23.	Aurora, Colorado
24.	Jacksonville, Florida	24.	Beaumont, Texas
25.	Winston-Salem, North Carolina	25.	Cheyenne, Wyoming
26.	Savannah, Georgia	26.	Nevada Highway Patrol
27.	Kansas City, Missouri	27.	Alaska Highway Patrol
		28.	Minnesota Highway Patrol
		29.	Connecticut State Police
		30.	Texas Department of Public Safety
		31.	New York State Police
		32.	Kansas Highway Patrol
		33.	Topeka, Kansas

extent of its structure and emphasis then; however, a recent training bulletin very aptly describes the program currently in use. As an example of a formalized program it has several characteristics which are noteworthy, the most obvious being that the program is in writing and officially sanctioned. It has been, furthermore, communicated to all personnel concerned, incorporated as a standard procedure in the manual governing patrol activities, and also incorporated into training programs. As official, written material, there is very little ambiguity as to the objectives of the program, its legal underpinnings, reporting procedures, and the rationale for implementing it.

Similar characteristics may be noticed in the programs developed and utilized by the police departments of Rochester, New York; Tampa, Florida; and St. Louis, Missouri.

The value of the practice is a foregone conclusion from an enforcement point of view. However, it can and is often misused. In this respect it becomes an implement of, among other things, harassment and suppression of individual liberties and dignity. This is painfully obvious in areas which have, or are conducive to, high incidents of crime and violence. An overzealous effort on the part of some officers has contributed to an intolerable situation insofar as the habitants of such areas are concerned.

During the study, many members of the community felt

that this tactic was the cause of considerable friction. Minority group leaders were almost unanimous in labeling it as one of the chief culprits in the whole relationship. Apparently it is quite common for them to be subjected to field interrogation, especially if they are about at night in those areas which normally receive concentrated police attention, or if they are in areas where they normally would not be expected.

Peculiarly, field interrogation as an issue appears to be more pronounced in the larger communities wherein the extremes on the previously mentioned continuum are very vocal. Comments such as the following are fairly representative for discussion purposes. Under questioning as to the propriety of a vigorous field interrogation program in which teenagers and youngsters in the Negro community were lined up against a wall and systematically searched, a midwestern police official stated that "<u>these methods have been used over the years and found to be the best way to stop purse-snatching</u>." A similar justification for vigorous field interrogation activity was offered by police officials from another midwestern city, when they indicated that they had caught a murderer this way. A study staff member who relates the incident indicates that this was <u>one murderer</u> apprehended in the course of a year. Further justification dwells on their success in gaining control of contraband,

particularly concealed weapons such as guns, knives, etc.

The justification found for the police point of view are as follows:

1. "One of the most important police techniques in the field of crime prevention is the consistent field interrogation of persons observed under suspicious circumstances. The prevention and apprehension phase of Law Enforcement may be greatly enhanced if a criminal or a person contemplating some criminal activity is aware of the fact that there is a good possibility he will be detained and questioned prior to the commission of a crime."

2. "The number of offenses reported to the Department is consistently increasing, yet the number of arrests are disproportionately less. The Field Contact Report Program is specifically designed to help correct this problem because an increased number of Field Contact Reports will produce a greater flow of information to investigative units and should result in more arrests and clearances of offenses."

   "It is universally agreed that vigorous patrol diminishes the opportunity for criminal conduct and increases the probability of apprehension. Both of these factors operate to make crime less attractive to those who might be contemplating criminal behavior. Completion of Field Contact Reports is a police activity associated with aggressive preventative patrol. Unfortunately an increasing amount of our total time is spent in responding to "called for Services" with a resulting decrease in the amount of time available for patrol. It is important, therefore, that the time spent on preventive patrol be as productive as possible. Completion of Field Contact Reports is an effective way to make regular patrol truly a deterrent to crime."

Representative comments from the other end of the continuum, drawn principally from the personal interview data, are:

"...race has an undue influence on who is stopped."

"...practice is o.k., but the way it was carried out was unfriendly, abusive, etc. Not against method, but how it is used."

"Personally, I found it offensive and was affronted on occasions of its use."

"Spanish-Americans are picked up sooner."

"Many Negroes stopped in other neighborhoods and questioned. Happens more to Negroes than to others."

"Police have a tendency to dragnet...worst for stereotyping...certain people can never be right."

"Is misused, but not generally. A problem of poverty."

Another common circumstance concerned racially mixed couples or groups in public areas. Many persons seemed to feel that this generally prompts some police scrutiny, if not actual physical or verbal probing insofar as the couple's or group's identity and destination is concerned. This intervention into otherwise normal behavior is perceived as discrimination. Indeed, it is an example of what might be classified as enforcing custom rather than law. It was variously described by them as being obnoxious and antagonistic. This reaction is not difficult to comprehend, for it is not uncommon for a frisk or search of the person to accompany the interview, chat, or interrogation regardless of the legality and appropriateness of the practice. Quite naturally, anything seized is not useful in legal processes and the act, a precedent to a violent response, easily leads to an altercation between officer and citizen.*

This is a critical area of police-citizen contact, an

*This practice was a major problem in at least two of the cities which we visited.

area deserving of closer study and control from both the administrative and legal standpoint.

The generally negative impression gained through interview and observation was reinforced by the lack or absence, in far too many cases, of a system for centrally recording and disseminating the information gained through field interrogation. Commonly, field interrogation reports in the form of standard 3 x 5 cards are completed. Submission of these reports to superiors seems to end the process insofar as the patrolmen are concerned, which prompts two observations.

It seems that the field interrogation procedure is all too often approached from the point of worker production. In this sense, field interrogation reports (regardless of form, but more likely to be of the 3 x 5 card variety) are completed and submitted on the basis of an informal quota system. As mentioned, it would appear as though the issue here clearly revolves around production and subsequent personnel evaluations. To expect "x" amount of production for an eight hour shift spent in patrol activities is, administratively, reasonable, but it is also not difficult to see how this particular approach could produce some very negative consequences, i.e., production quantified, on field interrogation reporting. The quota eventually becomes the overriding consideration and the subjects of the process

become relegated to an altogether undesirable position. Undesirable from a legal perspective and undesirable insofar as human relations are concerned.

Second, because of the critical nature of the field interview contact, would it not seem consistent to evaluate the practice in terms of the usefulness of the information gained? Does it really, as speculated, enable an investigator to place an occurrence or individual in a time-place context for the purpose of successfully conducting inquiry? No evaluation of this type seems to have been available! It should be given some thought.

Arrest, Search, and Seizure. There are, without going into technical details on the subject matter, several substantive and procedural issues which in view of the information gained and practices observed, are of interest here.

Arrest for Investigation. Although arresting an individual for investigative purposes, even on the basis of a specific suspected offense, is patently questionable, the practice is nevertheless widespread and fairly common. Of those departments responding to the mail questionnaire, roughly thirty percent affirmed that the practice was utilized. The frankness of the replies implies that the practice is allowed by local statutes and/or ordinances. (See Table II)

Several of the cities visited--are allowed by state law and/or local ordinances to arrest for investigative pur-

poses and do so. One department's annual reports for 1964 and 1965 indicate that a total of 697 such arrests were made for that two year period. A summary report furnished by another city reflects the extent of the practice there: 1824 arrests for 1965.

Ambiguities and inconsistencies in published departmental arrest statistics appear to reflect the existence of arrest practices which are not entirely acceptable. An example, perhaps atypical, is the annual report of a western city's squad. Of the 401 arrests made in 1965, 78 persons were released without having been formally charged. Another rather questionable practice is reflected in this report: arrest of persons on suspicion of narcotics use. The procedure utilized here--arrest for suspected use, urine analysis, release, and rearrest where applicable--probably contributes to the total number of persons released without formally being charged.

A recent study conducted in a large midwestern city charges that "...of the 1,200 persons taken to the police station for investigation in connection with prostitution, 1,075 were Negro." and "...only 76 were charged." There are additional incidents, similar in nature, cited in this report.

Ambiguities in arrest statistics in general, perhaps more subtly indicative of arrest malpractice than the Denver

TABLE II

MAIL QUESTIONNAIRES

UTILIZE INVESTIGATIVE HOLDS/ARRESTS	DO NOT UTILIZE
1. Boston, Massachusetts	1. Rochester, New York
2. Honolulu, Hawaii	2. Tampa, Florida
3. Dayton, Ohio	3. Toledo, Ohio
4. Minneapolis, Minnesota	4. Jersey City, New Jersey
5. Elizabeth, New Jersey	5. San Jose, California
6. Santa Ana, California	6. Oakland, California
7. Mountain View, California	7. Madison, Wisconsin
8. Winston-Salem, N. Carolina	8. Tucson, Arizona
9. Savannah, Georgia	9. Portsmouth, Ohio
10. Kansas City, Missouri	10. Ogden, Utah
11. Detroit, Michigan	11. Midland, Texas
12. Independence, Missouri	12. Dade County, Florida
13. Fort Wayne, Indiana	13. Nassau County
14. Evansville, Indiana	14. Little Rock, Arkansas
15. Aurora, Illinois	15. Jacksonville, Florida
16. Nevada Highway Patrol	16. Indianapolis, Indiana
	17. Washington, D.C.
	18. Atlanta, Georgia
	19. Buffalo, New York
	20. New Orleans, Louisiana
	21. Birmingham, Alabama
	22. Allentown, Pennsylvania
	23. Yonkers, New York
	24. Newport News, Virginia
	25. Scranton, Pennsylvania
	26. Syracuse, New York
	27. Baton Rouge, Louisiana
	28. Hartford, Connecticut
	29. Boise, Idaho
	30. Sioux Falls, South Dakota
	31. Aurora, Colorado
	32. Cheyenne, Wyoming
	33. Alaska
	34. Minnesota Highway Patrol
	35. Connecticut State Police
	36. Texas Department of Public Safety
	37. New York State Police
	38. Kansas Highway Patrol
	39. Topeka, Kansas

Narcotics Squad Report, are common and subsequently suspect. Almost every department's annual arrest summaries contain such categories as "all others". The indefiniteness of the category is enough to raise questions.

Excessive numbers of misdemeanor arrests also would seem to indicate that covert investigative or detention policies are used. This is commonly acknowledged by police officials as being one of the "tricks of the trade" and its use is traditionally widespread.

There are, additionally, other techniques employed to intimidate or detain persons suspected of criminal activity but which are difficult to prove due to lack of records. The extent of this practice is not known. However, a police official in a large eastern city informed one of the study staff members that it was done in that particular city on a limited basis when an incident occurred which seemingly presented no other investigative alternatives. In the recent U. S. Civil Rights Commission Hearings in Cleveland, Mr. Clarence Holmes, a Negro attorney and past NAACP president charged that "the Negro community is harassed through unlawful detention and illegal arrests." Numerous similar complaints were made at this hearing. The staff members feel that there is substantial evidence to warrant the initial remark to the effect that the practice of making investigative arrests is "...widespread and fairly common."

Use of Force. It goes without saying that some police field responsibilities, of necessity, frequently require physical force for their execution. Where executed illegally or inappropriately, the contemporary nomenclature is POLICE BRUTALITY. Little needs be said as to the existence of the issue, for current concerns as regards civil liberties have taken care of that. But the extent of the practice is another matter, which quite frankly is both "sticky" and on an individual case basis, difficult to prove. There is, however, sufficient evidence to lead the study staff to the conclusion that it is very much a troublesome reality: it does exist. How widespread incidents of brutality are is another matter. But an examination of what might be termed brutality for the purpose of this report has already begun. Reference is directed to the preceding section on the utilization of Field Interrogation techniques. By definition, of course, one could argue that vigorous and consistent "shake-downs" are not brutality, but the problems of semantics have been resolved in the chapter on Police Conduct. Anything which is patently harassing in nature is construed to be brutality. Minority group members and representatives were very much in agreement that brutality was not limited to the meting out of physical abuse. Police officials and other community leaders, in the interview situations, expressed an awareness to these minority feelings.

Although a great many of them were at a loss as to how the word "nigger" could be construed as brutality, many were conscious of the fact that it was so labeled by Negroes.

With this very broad category in mind, brutality, or inappropriate police conduct, is not a particularly difficult animal to ensnare, especially when the habitat is police field activity. A most recent event, a predominately juvenile, racial distrubance in midwestern city, during August, 1966, demonstrates very readily a case of verbal abuse. In this particular case it became necessary for the city police to call surrounding communities for aid in the control of the disturbance. One department responded by sending several officers for this purpose, and one of them told a staff member that he heard police officers shouting such things as "you'd better run, you nigger" from a bus used to quickly transport police officers from one hot spot to another. While riding patrol in another city, several similar incidents were observed by members of the study staff. But perhaps the most significant evidence that police field practices are sometimes oppressive is garnered from the attitudes expressed by police officers to staff members while riding patrol with them in the ghetto areas. Common reference to minority group peoples as being "animals", or "having no self-respect", as demon-

strative of attitude, would seem to preclude fair and objective treatment, let alone consideration for a plight not solely a product of their own making. A related incident occurred in a western city, but is somewhat different in nature in that it involves the use of threatening rather than abusive language. This case, observed by a staff member, concerned the lawful arrest of a Caucasian car salesman for drunk driving. This particular subject was anything but a gentleman in demeanor, although well-dressed. He went so far as to very discreetly, on several occasions, offer a bribe for his release. Prior to being booked, he was taken to a laboratory or testing room at police headquarters where attempts were made to "get a statement" from him and subject him to recorded sobriety tests. He adamantly refused and repeatedly demanded that his attorney be contacted. The patience of the interviewing officer "grew thin" and he actually threatened the subject with a long period of incommunicado detention if he did not cooperate. The officer's deportment, in the writers estimation, was very poor. It is remarkable that he was being supervised at this time by a sergeant, and a senior detective in the presence of the staff worker. The point of the whole case was to secure as much evidence as possible that the subject was DWI. It seems that the case could have been "made" without the additional evidence in view of the fact that he was observed driving, attempting

deception, attempting bribery, staggering in gait and plainly incoherent in speech! The testing procedure and interview situation was, if anything, an exercise in authority by a very young and aggressive police officer.

Cases of actual physical brutality were also observed during the field work for this report. Again, reference is directed to the Police Conduct chapter. The incident documented there as regards the motorcycle officer's treatment of a Negro motorist in the South is noteworthy. Another staff member observed, a case of police misconduct in a large northern city. Summarily, two Negro youths were apprehended and beaten on the street, in a patrol car, and in the police station. This was done in the presence of a staff member and a Negro police commander.

In a western community, a drunk Indian male was arrested on the street by officers with whom a staff member was riding. The Indian, clearly inebriated beyond the point of being able to either physically or verbally respond to the officer's directions, although still standing and conscious, was thrown against the police vehicle and searched, thrown onto the floor and backseat of the patrol car for transportation to police headquarters, and finally, was made the subject of ridicule and verbal harassment at a prebooking administrative procedure.

Another very recent case reviewed by staff members serves as an additional example of blatant police misconduct.

A drunk and very large Negro woman of questionable repute was severely beaten with a nightstick by a police officer for resisting eviction from a restaurant for disorderly and abusive conduct. The case was quite an issue locally but the officer was exonerated from charges of intemperate use of physical force to restrain. After all, the woman did resist the officer and actually attacked him. The fact that three or four other on-duty patrolmen stood by and watched the fracas apparently had no bearing on the case!

The recent Civil Rights Commission Report[3] as regards law enforcement in the South states to the effect that brutality is a reality, but not a consistent and general practice. That statement is probably applicable to other sections of the nation as well. Direct observations, cases reviewed, and interviews conducted by this staff leads it to the conclusion that the generalization has some validity. Brutality, perhaps a matter of physical abuse, or verbal abuse, or simply a pair of handcuffs otherwise justifiably used, but shackled too tightly, does exist.

Use of Firearms. That there are situations requiring the use of a firearm is indisputable, but there is, how-

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[3]Law Enforcement: A Report on Equal Protection in the South, United State Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., 1965.

ever, a great deal to be said as to the appropriate use of a weapon. The legal dictum on the issue appears to be clear, but incidents reported and researched seem inconsistent with legally defined behavior. Drawing and/or discharging a firearm with the intent to warn or injure in misdemeanor and some felony cases is clearly uncalled for. The recent case in Los Angeles, originally a traffic offense, is a case in point.[4]

Generally, there is a rather marked discrepancy between departmental policies and actual practices. Control of behavior seems to be lacking, one cause of which could very well be the inadequate "shots fired" reporting procedures and effective use of the data obtained by such a system.

Although reports and records, in most instances demand as a matter of departmental policy, were kept, the systems reviewed lacked the essentials necessary for the effective utilization of the data (systematic reporting procedures, analysis of data compiled, comilation and review of summary reports, etc.). This obvious void would imply that administratively, much is to be desired. Recording shots fired in the content of a standard incident or complaint report does not lend, in terms of long-range planning as well as in day-to-day operations, to adequate administrative controls over an area which, for obvious reasons, a maximum amount of control should be exercised!

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[4]The survey indicated a tendency on the part of police officers to utilize their firearms more often than might be necessary because of the danger associated with the job.

As a police and community relations concern, indiscriminate use of weapons poses an extremely critical problem. Consider the following newspaper account of a recent Michigan incident as an example of the potential of the preceding observation:

> "In Benton Harbor, six Negroes pleaded innocent Monday to loitering charges. They were arrested Sunday night in a disturbance that took two hours to quell. Some 400 Negroes damaged 23 automobiles, and a policeman suffered minor injuries. The trouble began when the police fired several shots into the air to disperse a crowd at a roller rink. Some youths refused to leave and began throwing rocks and bottles."[5]

Detention. Holding persons arrested pending judicial disposition, ranging from pre-hearing to post trial situations, presents another area in which police practices deserve comment.

1. Detention facilities, in general, appeared to be adequate to the degree that present philosophy and financing will allow. Very few small departments were visited however.
2. Observation of booking procedures and the subsequent administrative processes would indicate that there still exist practices the appropriateness and legality of which are questionable. This was demonstrable in the handling of routine drunk-in-

[5]Detroit Free Press, August 30, 1964.

public cases (see later section for a discussion on this issue) and also more serious, felony cases.

3. While fully aware that work assignments in detention and jail facilities are not altogether desirable insofar as most police officers are concerned, it does not, however, function as a rationalization or justification for poor department (generally abusive behavior short of physical violence). Also being aware that it is not possible to be humane or "nice" in many detention situations does not provide justification for what would not be socially or legally acceptable behavior. Physical abuse is, generally, not a common practice, but abusive conduct indicated by improper attitudes and speech, seemed prevalent.

Canine Units. Canine Units are used in a sufficient number of communities to merit comment. Generally, stated policy indicated that they were to be used minimally or not at all for crowd control purposes. The reasons for such a policy are obvious in view of civil rights activity. But again, there appears to be a discrepancy between printed and articulated policy and observed and reported practice. Canine units responding to calls in certain sections of a

community as "back-up" units or as "shows of force" would lead one to believe that their use is not at all limited to patroling or chasing suspected violators in especially dangerous situations or terrain conducive to elusive flight. Regardless of intended use, snarling, barking dogs on the scene of domestic squabbles or youth group activity, even though the dogs are not removed from the patrol car or station wagon, certainly lend a great deal of credence to the impression gained.

An example, perhaps extreme and atypical, but nevertheless to the point, came out of a recent site interview. A bar owner, bartender, or concerned patron, had called the police stating that there was a chance that a flight would soon erupt in the "X" bar, and would they please send someone to the bar to quiet the matter down or do whatever was necessary. The bar, predominantly patronized by Negroes in a Negro section of town, generally enjoyed a good reputation insofar as the police were concerned, but the response to the call did not reflect this. Several officers, including a canine team, responded to the call, entered the bar and apparently quelled whatever trouble was brewing through their presence. In the course of this, however, something did occur which was entirely uncalled for. The dog was commanded to jump upon the bar, and walk from one end to the other! Now the stated policy of the department

insofar as canine team utilization is concerned mentions nothing insofar as this practice is concerned, even disallowing the fact that the dog was ordered to perform on the bar! His mere presence in the bar was out of order and indicated poor judgment.

Tactical Mobile Units. Tactical mobile units are recent innovations insofar as patrol techniques are concerned. Described variously as Mobile Units, B-Squads, M-Squads or Task Forces, their value is derived from assignment flexibility, thus allowing them to respond on a generally prearranged basis to certain types of incidents or to respond to calls in certain areas for the purpose of permeating the same with law enforcement officers. The objective is obviously unabashed crime suppression. Practically, the units have a very useful and valuable purpose, for there obviously are some situations which justify such action. However, implementation of "get tough" policies, or "dragnet" operations insofar as certain other offenses are concerned can quite easily lead to police behavior, the appropriateness and legality of which are at least, suspect and questionable. A very thin line separates the two, so considerable care should be taken in their utilization.

Selective Enforcement. Selective enforcement, admittedly an administrative necessity, presents itself as a rather

sensitive subject. It should be viewed with those sections on Field Interrogation, Tactical Mobile Units, Field Supervision, and Special Problems in mind, for they are all interrelated insofar as the present subject matter is concerned, i.e., the assignments normally covered by Tactical Mobile Units are in fact selective enforcement, not usually focused upon those problems which from a behavioral and liberal perspective, might be interpreted as symptoms of social disorganization or disfunction. Without going on at any great length, summarily it can be stated that justification for pursuing a selective enforcement policy must be carefully thought out. It's extremely difficult to explain and defend the practice insofar as certain segments of the community are concerned. Namely, those individuals who find themselves the subjects of obviously heavy police scrutiny and supervision. Care must be taken not to apply such techniques on the basis of poor philosophy, poor police administration, and poor statistics.

Riot Control. During the course of the field work, it became apparent that the police are both concerned and puzzled about riots. Tradition has prompted them to both perceive and respond to civil disturbances as though they are all highly organized. Some comment is in order here, for clearly, most riots are not the product of planned organization. The distinction between a spontaneous mob outbreak and an organized riot is necessary, for there

should be some difference in the police response to it. The recent and opposing statements presented in the news media by J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General Katzenbach on the subject are demonstrative of the issue here.

It would seem that there are constructive measures short of absolute suppression which could resolve or at least "cool off" a spontaneous eruption. This is not the case for organized riots, however, and it would seem that suppressive procedures are more in order. Every riot is not the same. Just as every law violation must be decided on the merits of the case, so should the circumstances of each riot be evaluated so proper action may be taken.

Special Problems. Certain forms of behavior are commonly held to be socially unacceptable. That this behavior is illegal in some cases is quite clear, whereas in others there seems to be some ambiguity. At the other extreme, although behavior may be bizarre, it is not illegal, but still socially unacceptable. Alcoholism is a good case in point. Being an alcoholic is not against the law, but nevertheless socially unacceptable. However, to be under the influence of alcohol in certain situations, is clearly illegal as well as is, in other situations, the possession of the intoxicants. There are, on this continuum, points at which the consumption of alcohol is socially acceptable and legal, however, this is not of concern. What is of

importance is that human behavior, especially its more bizarre forms, be discussed as it relates to law enforcement.

Speaking of behavior as it relates to law enforcement is to speak of behavior from a legal-judicial reference matrix. This reference matrix, as an analytical base, is not at all adequate insofar as some forms of behavior are concerned. Reference to recent high court decisions regarding alcoholics and narcotic addicts suggests a recognition of the inadequacies of the legal-judicial system. These decisions may be indicative of a trend, but regardless, some rethinking is recommended for law enforcement officials now.

From a very practical point of view, consider the futility which is currently being experienced as regards the habitual, skid-row dwelling, alcoholic; he is processed a dozen times in one year for the same offense. This would seem to indicate corrective failure or inadequacies somewhere. A review of almost any department's arrest statistics reflects the great numbers of social derelicts who are processed through the nation's courts and jails annually.

Two incidents of note were made while this staff was in the field. One consisted merely of a review of the arrest book in a southwestern city. With very few exceptions, the majority of those jailed were booked under ordinances

as regards "drunk and disorderly", "drunk in public", etc. In a western city while on the way to lunch with the police officers from the police and community relations unit, a staff member observed at least six older persons gathered in a small public square in a state of total inebriation. It just so happened that the Chief of Police had also passed this same location, made the same observation, and had a wagon sent to pick up these people. A conversation was initiated by the incident as regards the futility of jailing such persons. The officers indicated that at one time the county had a camp for "drying-out" such people, but that as soon as money became scarce, it was the first operation to be eliminated from the budget. It no longer operates.

To this point, the discussion has dealt with what might be considered socially deleterious or undesirable behavior, the legal nature of which is currently in a state of flux. It would be advantageous to shift the focus of discussion to another area of what might be called deviant behavior--that of the "fringie", the "beatnik", or in general what is commonly referred to as the social non-conformist. To assume that he is never a law violator is to be naive, however, to realize that he does violate the law places him in a category with John Common Citizen, for he, too, violates the law. Clearly then the non-conformist is not essentially that much different. He may appear different,

keep irregular hours, congregate at some strange places, and champion causes not appealing to the general populous, but the major part of his behavior, however bizarre, different, and antagonistic is generally legal. There is no case for harassment or even the more subtle form of abuse, condescension, from the police. That police officers generally are anything but receptive to this form of behavior is an understatement.

For the sake of emphasis, another shift in focus is in order. Consider for a moment those areas in a municipality which are at one time two things: residential areas for foreign nationals and minority groups and also areas of relative economic deprivation, i.e., the slums and ghettos, the low rent districts, the tenement sections, and even the housing projects. Behavior here is indeed different! Culturally, one supposes, it is to be expected. But cultural difference, or perhaps the case is really one of contracultures, is not considered in the legal-judicial reference matrix, unless it's the middle-class culture of which the reference matrix is an extension. But regardless, there is a conflict between the culture of the ghetto and that of the remainder of the city. And, if in fact, the conflict arises in an area of behavior defined as illegal, then there are two immediate problems--one for the police officer, and yet a larger social problem, because the reference matrix from

which the behavior is judged, is not currently, nor will it be in the future, successful in changing that behavior. It will persist- it's culturally ordained to do so. As an example, consider the practice of violent, aggressive behavior demonstrated by some of our citizens on "that typical Saturday night". Knifings and beatings are part of a way of life, and punishment as meted out by current legal practices seems to do little to deter it or change it.

Again, for emphasis, a shift: consider the sexual deviant. His behavior, in its various and repugnant manifestations, as the object of legal processing doesn't offer much hope if one insists that it change to conform with normal sexual practices.

All of these forms of behavior are different from what is perceived as normal. They do not represent the full range of social and behavioral irregularities, but are examples for discussion's sake, the point which is:

1. The legal reference matrix is inadequate insofar as rehabilitation is concerned.
2. The legal reference matrix, as an agent of social and cultural change, is impotent. This is, in a sense, related to 1 above, however, at present it applies to groups of people. Consider, in addition to the examples already cited, the current situation in the South. Will legislation, in the final analysis,

change those culturally ingrained and perpetuated attitudes insofar as racial discrimination is concerned?

3. The legal reference matrix, as a gauge by which behavior must be measured, seems to provide and promote a simplistic evaluation of all behavior, which at the present time is extremely dysfunctional.
4. The legal reference matrix, a formalized body of behavioral standards, does not include within its pale all forms of behavior. There are some forms of behavior that, although irregular, bizarre, or different, are not in and of themselves illegal, nor for that matter, socially debilitating.

It would seem that an appropriate organizational posture on this issue for police administrators would be one of extreme caution. There is a great deal of difference between enforcing the law and enforcing custom and tradition. It's time that individual and cultural differences be given a great deal of consideration insofar as their relation to the law is concerned. People are different both as individuals and groups and the police must recognize this. As a police and community relations concern, the implication of the foregoing statements are obvious.

FIELD SUPERVISION

From an administrative and managerial perspective, field operations must of necessity include some form of supervision. Observations in the field would indicate that, with rare exception, it is sadly neglected or lacking altogether. The following example is in fact indicative of this void.

A call was received from the night watchman of a public building. He indicated that a couple were in the building and arguing rather heatedly. She wanted to go home and he insisted she stay "downtown" and have a few more drinks with him. She insisted on leaving and was attempting to call a taxi cab from the pay phone in the building. SIX cars and approximately EIGHT officers responded to the call and rushed to the scene. The behavior of the officers and supervisors at this incident was anything but proper. Foul and abusive language took the place of discretion, orderliness, and a constructive attempt to smooth over the feelings of two very obviously hostile and partially inebriated people.

Upon initial appraisal the foregoing example demonstrates two immediate problem areas: 1) lack of supervision and control from dispatcher to car; and 2) lack of supervision at the scene of the incident.

But the largest problem by far is implied from what this incident represents for the overall organization. Few

supervisors are assuming the responsibility for the direction and guidance of personnel at any level. Countless similar incidents occurred in many different locations. Reference is again directed to the cases cited in the preceding chapter on Police Conduct. The incident as regards the motorcycle police officers handling of the Negro, and the case cited regarding the Negro youth who was being pursued after having barely missed being run over by a patrol car are excellent examples. But perhaps a more pointed example of the blatant lack of effective supervision can be demonstrated by the observation of an individual as to the current prevalence of drinking on duty by police officers in a large eastern city. It is common, when things are quiet, to purchase a case of beer or bottle of whiskey and retire to a parking lot for consumption. It was indicated that responses to calls for service were made with open beer and liquor in the car. This incident did not occur once, but many times over an extended period of time.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Police field practices and techniques are the major points of social interaction between the police and the community. This interaction, by its very nature unpleasant, is being made increasingly and unnecessarily more distaste-

ful as the result of, among other things, poor procedure, poor deportment and poor supervision. If this is to continue, any thought of improving the police and community relationship should be set aside.

However, if it's decided that an acceptable police and community relationship is necessary, the following conclusions are pertinent:

1. LEGALITY: Based upon observations and interviews in the field, it is apparent that police field practices do not in many cases conform to legally established criteria. But a preoccupation, although necessary to a point, with the legal nature of a practice is to limit its effective potential in the areas of law enforcement and police and community relations. Considering both aspects carefully might lead one to the conclusion that although a practice is legally conducted, it may well have been much more effective if the officer involved had been polite. Then again, there just may be practices which are offensive by their very nature, regardless of how legally and politely executed. That many police practices fell within the pale of this latter consideration is recognized. Might not some discretion be exercised in those areas where doing so would not significantly alter the

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integrity of the service and which would simultaneously enhance the possibility of citizen co-operation and participation in the community enterprise?

2. EFFICIENCY: Organizational efficiency as the ideal for the police is probably derived from two sources. It is for one thing, the reflection of a society and a culture--the contemporary, technologically--oriented, United States of America. The promptings of a fast evolving police profession would seem to be the second. To be efficient is to be "fashionable", to be "in tune with the times". There is, however, a very elementary discrepancy in this notion. Efficiency is a machine oriented concept, an analogy drawn from our technology and not our people. As such, it has limited application and is of interest here as it relates to police field practices and the police and community relationship.

Briefly, the most efficient field practice is not necessarily the best. It may very well be illegal. But assuming that it is not, isn't there the possibility that it just may be so reprehensible from the community's point of view that it ultimately becomes a self-defeating procedure? Consider the field interrogation technique in this light. It

may very well be the most efficient way of securing information as regards individuals and the neighborhood, but might it not, if zealously pursued, ultimately destroy the source of the information? The underlying assumption for the field interrogation practice is to secure information! However, harassed people are generally not communicative or cooperative.

3. EFFECTIVENESS: If the primary goal of the police is the suppression of criminal behavior, one would be forced to concede failure. Criminal behavior continues to flourish. There are several reasons for this, not the least of which is the realization that force does not necessarily alter behavior. Additionally, consider the issue from political perspectives as well as the moral. One could conclude, it is assumed, that the most effective repressive policies are not historically successful. They are, additionally, legally not permissible, as well as being socially, politically, and culturally unacceptable.

Implicitly, the foregoing indicates that the successful accomplishment of American police goals are to be found elsewhere. It is suggested that this "elsewhere" may be the community. The most

effective deterrent to criminal activity may be, in the final analysis, a community enterprise. Community enterprise is more closely akin to a democratic system of government than is repressive police activity. The effectiveness of each is, of course, a relative matter which ultimately must be resolved by a value judgment.

4. PROFESSIONALISM: It was stated earlier that the concept of organizational efficiency insofar as the police are concerned was partially derived from a rapidly evolving police profession. The accurateness of this observation can be found in the definition of professionalism which suggests that universal standards govern the behavior of those within a certain occupation. Efficiency is one of the standards promoted by the police profession, among many others.

But from all that can be gained by establishing standards, there is also a loss. It is suggested here that uniform standards, professionally derived, do not, in all cases, apply to local problems.

CHAPTER VII

AN ANALYSIS OF RACIALLY DELINEATED CRIME STATISTICS

INTRODUCTION

It is evident that statistical analysis is an essential function of organizational administration. This is especially so in police service. The very nature of crime prevention and control requires a statistical profile of what is happening in the jurisdiction. In police departments, statistics are gathered in at least three areas. Administrative records deal with such matters as employee selection and the deployment of personnel within the department; operational records pertain to departmental procedures; and crime records depict the amount and types of crime within the community. Problems affecting police and community relations occur at all three levels of record keeping, but the problems involved in the collection of crime records seem to be more evident than in the others. This may be the case for several reasons; for instance, crime recording by the police does not yield a total picture of the amount of crime and delinquency in a community. While police statistics are the best we have, many more crimes occur than are reported. This is the

problem of "hidden delinquency," the "dark numbers" of crime and the invisibility of the act and unwillingness to report it. Geis tells us:

> "The most basic shortcoming in criminal statistics is that they can never hope to represent with accuracy the behavior that we are really interested in; that is, they cannot tell us the amount of criminal behavior taking place within a given jurisdiction. This point can hardly be sufficiently emphasized. We do not know the real extent of crime and there is little chance that we will soon come to know it. The various indexes of criminal activity relied upon in statistical reports need not and do not bear any discernible relationship to this most basic item, the volume of criminal behavior itself."[1]

Other problems regarding crime statistics and reports have been identified by social scientists. It is widely acknowledged that middle and high socio-economic status citizens have, in fact, higher rates of criminal behavior than appear in official statistics. Studies also indicate that definitions of criminal and delinquent behavior are nebulous. The acknowledgment of the commission of a crime may depend not so much on behavior as on police policy, referral practices and treatment resources in a community.

The problems mentioned are compounded when the controversial topic of racially delineated crime statistics is considered.

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[1]Gilbert Geis, "Statistics Concerning Race and Crime," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. II, No. 2, 1965, p. 143.

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE MAINTENANCE OF RACIALLY DELINEATED CRIME STATISTICS

The difficulties that social scientists see in the use of racially delineated crime statistics center around the problems of correlating race with criminal behavior. The popular belief that race is associated with crime is unfortunate. This false premise helps produce the fears that disrupt efforts to integrate community life. Such fears are false, for not only is there valid evidence that certain races do not have a propensity toward crime, but there is also data that indicates that criminal acts are predominantly intragroup and intraracial behavior.[2] However, a myth in popular belief is no less real because it is a myth.

The human being is genetically blended and a product of his culture. It is very difficult to determine the extent to which genetic variations operate to produce certain conduct. It is patently absurd, therefore, to suggest a cause-and-effect relationship between race and crime. There are legal and social meanings of the term "crime", and in many instances the two meanings are at odds. The social meanings are ambiguous and refer to a wide range of behavior. Therefore, when we identify

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[2] See Marvin E. Wolfgang, Crime and Race. New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1964, pp. 37-44.

individuals as Negro, White, Indian, Chinese, or Mexican - as if they were racially clear-cut and anthropologically valid classifications - and correlate these classifications with the ambiguous notions of crime, a sea of confusion results.

Keeping in mind the above mentioned problems, there are additional statistical difficulties.

A precise knowledge of the actual amount of crime among the numerous groups that compose our society is an impossibility. The problem of unrecorded offenses has already been discussed. Wolfgang states that only from arrest is there any knowledge of the race of offenders, yet arrests in any year represent only 30 percent of the index crimes recorded.[3]

The characterization "Negro," entails a greater risk of statistical involvement in the process of criminal justice than does the characterization "white." This may be attributed to distortions caused by differential treatment of Negroes by various agents, including the police. As Korn and McCorkle indicate, ". . . Until the extent of these distortions is known, there is no way of determining whether the higher Negro rate represents a higher rate of actual crime or a greater liability to involvement with law-enforcement agencies."[4] It should also be noted that

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[3]Wolfgang, op. cit. p. 51

[4]Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, Criminology and Penology. Henry Holt, New York, 1959, p. 243.

racially delineated crime statistics, for legitimate uses, would probably be less disturbing as an issue in community relations were it not for a more general climate of racial prejudice in the society, nurtured by a hundred mechanisms in its perpetuation.

It must be realized, moreover, that the viewpoint of many police officers on questions of Negro civil rights is warped by the great amount of energy and effort required to carry out the difficult and dangerous task of containing what is incorrectly called "Negro crime." William Kephart,[5] in his interesting study of attitudes among a thousand white police officers in Philadelphia in 1952, found that officers over-estimated the percentage of arrests of Negroes in their districts. The higher the real Negro arrest rate, the greater was the over-estimation. Actually, Negroes comprised about 70 percent of all persons arrested, but estimates by white officers averaged over 95 percent.

In considering arrest statistics, it may be stated that such data as race, sex, and age of persons arrested are descriptive of persons who are subjected to arrest. Arrest statistics reflect the procedures, paradoxes, and idiosyncracies of the job of law enforcement. Again, Geis illustrates this by stating:

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[5]William Kephart, Racial Factors in Urban Law Enforcement. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957.

> ". . .an efficient police force will often become aware of a greater number of offenses and will arrest a larger number of persons than will a less efficient police organization. Summary statistical reports, taken at face value (which is the way such reports are almost always taken), imply that a better agency is less effective in reducing crime than a less capable agency, a curious juxtaposition of the facts of the situation."[6]

The above applies to departmental procedures affecting minority groups. The nebulous "Negro crime" problem often leads to a greater saturation of Negro neighborhoods by police patrol. This will in turn result in more crime and produce a larger number of arrests of Negroes. It is not entirely the behavior of the group itself which conditions the group's crime rates, for the increased concentration of police activity is also involved.

Finally, three other problem areas are important to our consideration of racially delineated crime statistics. First, there is a need to reevaluate the methods of data collection and presentation. In many cases crime records are kept in such a manner as to be both administratively and scientifically useless. For example, exception might well be taken to the gross recording, in tables, of the total number of offenders. It would be of greater value to both the police and academic communities if these tables would indicate the percentage of alleged crime in a group as related to that group's proportion in the general popula-

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[6]Geis, op. cit., p. 146.

tion. It would also be helpful if such information was statistically controlled for socio-economic status as part of the sub-category of "race," so that it could be determined whether the discussion really involved minority group behavior, or the actions of persons similarly situated in regard to social and economic conditions.

Second, it is hoped that police administrators realize that simply because certain types of statistics are maintained for administrative, operational, and/or analytical purposes, they should not feel compelled to issue such information in the same form in their annual reports. Obviously, data gathered for one reason should be carefully reviewed and reconstructed before it is released to serve public relations needs. The publication of meaningless racially delineated crime statistics serves no valid purpose and causes great harm from a community relations point of view.

Third, there remain certain perplexing anthropological questions to be analyzed. For example, the average police officer is not an anthropologist. Even it he were, could he be sure in his judgments as to who is Chinese or Japanese, Indian or Negro, etc.? And what anthropologist would support this lumping together, in Uniform Crime Reports, of race and nationality? What about the thousands of Negroes who pass as white? The scientific absurdity is suggested by University

of Cincinnati psychologist, Robert B. Mills:

> "Something more sophisticated than the shotgun collection of statistics by race is needed in order to pinpoint more adequately the social cancers producing crime and related evils. Such an analysis would be the best refutation that crime is not caused by race, but by what has happened to part of the human race because of extreme social disadvantage. More social research is needed to give us a better blueprint for social intervention to prevent crime by destroying its roots."[7]

THE NEED FOR RACIALLY DELINEATED CRIME STATISTICS

There exists a paradox in this matter of racially delineated crime statistics. Though as indicated in the above discussion there are many problems relating to race and crime reporting, there is, in another sense, a definite need for employing racial designations in crime records. The key consideration in dissolving this paradox resides in the proper and discreet use of such information. The real crux of the question is then: How are these statistics utilized?

The use of racial designations on administrative records such as personnel applications is a two-edged sword. Under certain circumstances this type of indication might be misused in such a way as to discriminate against the applicant, and indeed, federal, state, and local laws often are found that attempt to curb this practice. On the other hand, the lack of such information may allow agencies of

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[7]Robert B. Mills, Paper presented to an Institute on Police-Community Relations in Cincinnati, June 8, 1964.

questionable motivation to practice discrimination under the cover of "We are not permitted to keep such information." For example, the survey team was seldom able to discover just how many Negroes applied and at what point in the selection process were those who applied found unacceptable and why. Under these conditions, careful analysis of the situation is practically impossible. As a result, it is suggested that while racial designations may not be necessary on the original application blank, such information should be recorded early in the process, and further, that even where no indication is made individually that such information be tabulated and maintained by personnel agencies. The fact that a person is of a certain race should not detract from his possibility of employment, but this type of information is certainly of use once the man is over the initial hurdles in the selection process.

Until a more serviceable method of identification is developed, the use of racial designations for this purpose is deemed suitable. After considerable discussion of the alternatives, it is felt that no presently available method can satisfactorily supplant this practice. This does not mean, however, that derisive reference to a person's race should be permitted either in writing or when transmitting a subject's description over the radio.

The retaining of race on departmental crime records is also of value. If evaluations are to be made of community action programs and knowledge is to be gained through the empirical study of the causes of crime and/or social progress, such information regarding race and crime is helpful. As Wolfgang states:

> "As long as segregation and discrimination persist, and the struggle for more participation in society continues, there may be some utility in the statistical designation of race, simply to keep an accounting of social problems and to measure the progress of change in the economic and political status of minority groups."[8]

Though there are many fallacies regarding the relationship between race and crime, and significant difficulties in obtaining and employing racially delineated statistics, there is a rationale for their employment, assuming administrative and operational prudence.

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[8]Wolfgang, op. cit., p. 15.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

This study does not paint a very satisfactory picture of prevailing police and community relations. There are bright spots, but these are few and geographically scattered. Moreover, areas of comparative success are in most cases situations in which a police and community relations program has developed only within the past several years, largely as a response to local pressures and in the hope that somehow such a program may prevent riots and disorders. The program thus tends to be regarded as something of a palliative. There is a tendency for unreasonable expectations to arise with respect to it, almost the assumption that a police and community relations program will cure long-standing social injustices as felt especially by so-called minority groups--in housing, employment and educational opportunities, etc.

No police and community relations project or program, no matter how artfully and ingeniously conceived and conducted, can possibly eliminate the root causes of the social cancers of society that are especially malignant in the ghetto areas of large

urban centers. Indeed, poor police-minority group relationships are simply one more symptom, however important, of the fundamental problem. And for this problem, it is useful to remember that the police are no more or no less responsible than other identifiable social institutions and organizations.

It would, perhaps, be preferable if good police and community relations programs would develop from motivations more positive, more socially and morally laudable than as a result of pressures and fears that riots might occur unless something is done. But this is to dwell on the ideal, and the concern of this study has been with what is and what ought to be, rather than with the choice of motives.

The general fact is, by and large, that the police-citizen relationship leaves much to be desired, even in terms of something less than ideal goals. The tendency is to reflect upon this generalization immediately within the narrow confines of the police-minority group relationship. Surely the evidence is overwhelming that the relationship in this particular respect is far from exemplary. But it is not enough to consider it only in this sense. The police-citizen relationship, aside from "minority group" considerations, is also far from perfect. Why? This study has endeavored to identify some of the more significant reasons, and beyond this,

to indicate some of the significant factors explaining the police-minority group relationship.

To attempt to establish who is to blame for this state of affairs, and in what measure, is to engage in an absurd game. As a general rule, in all relationship situations where there has been some problem, there is some responsibility on each side. This certainly applies in the police and community relationship. The tragedy is at the point where the police insist that it is the community that is at fault, and the community claims that the blame lies with the police. To begin with, this is a wholly artificial and unrealistic dichotomy. Historically, the police <u>are</u> the community, and the community <u>is</u> the police. To take this position is to fortify the notion of an adversary-type relationship. It may, in part, be this, under our system, but the emphasis should be on the <u>positive</u>, even in the symbolic language referring to it.

Further, it may be observed that the gamesmanship of attempting to assess blame is often a device to escape responsibility for initiating constructive remedies for the problem. In the structure of the police-citizen relationship, "police" is a rather specific, identifiable entity. One can deal with this part of the relationship. We know who the police are. On the other side of the relationship, however, "citizen"

is everybody--and nobody. To fix responsibility with "citizens" or "community" is to fix responsibility in unmanageable proportions. It is well said that "everybody's responsibility is nobody's". Moreover, the police are interested in their own professional development and its commensurate responsibilities more than non-police. Such professional development in today's society requires, rather absolutely, a kind of police-citizen partnership, mutually supportive and mutually rewarding, in fact, a matter of organic union rather than merely a relationship. For these reasons and others, the question of initiative in police and community relations appears to reside preponderently, but not unilaterally or exclusively, with the police. In effect, it is the implementation of the idea of the police officer as a community leader, which is still a revolutionary notion in many quarters of the society.

Too many police agencies think of "community relations" as "just good public relations". This may be so, depending upon their definition of public relations. If it means, simply, "to tell them what they ought to know, and what we want them to do", the program is superficial and chauvinistic. If on the other hand it means the totality of ways in which it may be emphasized that the police are an important part of, not apart from the communities they serve, the definition is well taken.

Furthermore, properly conceived and understood, police and community relations is essentially preventative in its character, but in an even more positive sense, its ultimate objective is in better law enforcement, for the common good and "better", in this sense, means more than simply more efficient.

Good police and community relations ought to involve citizens of every background in responsible participation in the affairs and processes that are basically the responsibility of all citizens. This does not mean involving citizens in the technical aspects of police work, for which the average citizen is simply incompetent. It does mean substantial and widespread improvement in the current tendency for policeman and citizen to "fire darts at one another from twenty paces", and to see their relationship as a species of sporting contest, governed by mutually recognized rules which must not be violated if one is to be seen by the other as "a good sport"!

In the light of these general considerations, the major recommendations of this study are summarized as follows:

I. It is recommended that the police place greater emphasis upon the concept of public service as a legitimate goal of their organizations. For the police, professionalization has been viewed in

too narrow a focus. True professionalism is rooted in broad-based public service which commands popular respect for the police officer and the system of government by law which he represents. Increased efficiency in police work is laudable, but as a means to an end, not as an end in itself. When efficiency is coupled with a goal of crime suppression at any cost, the community is often faced with a police agency which is not responsive to community needs. Certain elements in the community do not see it as their police department.

II. It is recommended that police agencies develop extensive, formal, and comprehensive community relations programs. (See Chapter III.)

Two points deserve special emphasis in this regard: (1) The vital importance of developing effective liaison between the police agency and all significant population elements in the community served by the agency, especially with groups known to be unfriendly or hostile toward the police; and (2) A really meaningful police and community relations program in a police agency saturates the entire organization, at every level. Ideally, it is a total orientation, permeating every facet of police operations: policy, supervision, personnel practices, training and education, planning and research, complaint machinery, and of course, the

community relations unit itself, whatever it may be called. A police administrator does not establish a community relations program merely by activating a special unit, or by adding a few hours of special instruction in police training courses. Community relations must permeate the entire fabric of the organization, and in a meaningful manner, not merely as "the current kick" in the department or as a matter of "window dressing".

III. It is recommended that every police agency carefully and honestly review and evaluate the existing procedures through which citizens may register complaints. It is further urged that police and other governmental executives adopt all appropriate mechanisms, including external advisory review, to encourage all citizens to offer their criticism of public service. (See Chapter IV.)

Police officials must realize that the public has a right to complain about what they believe are valid grievances. Truly professional policing requires the installation of adequate (meaning easily available, fair, just, impartial) measures to encourage all citizens to "speak their piece" regarding all public service entities, even in complaint or criticism. This process should be seen as an important aspect of citizen involvement and participation in the affairs

of democratic society. Again, the aim, properly construed, is in improvement of police service for the common good.

IV. It is recommended that the personnel policies and practices of police agencies, and their training programs, be organized with scrupulous attention and sensitivity to community relations. (See Chapter V.) With respect to police personnel policies and practices, from recruitment to promotions, there is no acceptable situation today, anywhere, other than that represented by a merit system, impeccably and impartially administered. Special attention and imagination must be devoted to the singularly important matter of securing a greater proportion of police officers from minority group backgrounds. This does not mean lowering standards in any sense, or in effect to appoint police officers merely because they are Negro or Puerto Rican or Indian. It does mean recognition that there are special problems of police recruitment with respect to minority groups, and intelligent steps should be taken by police administrators to cope with such problems. Once appointed or sworn as police officers, there should be no restrictions placed upon the powers of arrest of any officer.

Police training in human relations should be stressed in every jurisdiction. The quality as well as the

quantity of such training is extremely marginal in many localities. Little attention has been devoted to what it is important to teach police officers in this increasingly vital subject matter area, or to the methods of instruction that will be most productive. This element of method in police training merits special study. Too often, the methods being utilized represent what educational authorities have long ago established as least likely to bring about change in behavior. The question of method in police training is particularly relevant regarding subject matter in social and behavioral science. How important is attitude in police professionalism? What is being done in police training to instill in officers "good judgment", "common sense", "prudence and wisdom", etc., in preparation for work in which he will be expected to respond responsibly and professionally in circumstances requiring instantaneous decisions as to "probable cause", "reasonable force", etc.? Perhaps this is more a question of training method than of content. In any case, questions of this kind plead for further study and controlled experimentation.

V. It is recommended that police administrators review and assess their current field procedures in light of police and community relations; that they recognize the maintenance of positive community relations as a

indispensable means to the accomplishment of their desired organizational goals; and that they employ or disregard such field procedures in full knowledge of the consequences of their action. (See Chapter VI.)

A considerable number of police field procedures are not appropriate in terms of police and community relations. While these techniques have value insofar as the suppression of crime is concerned, they in a number of ways cause more harm than good. Recognizing this fact, the administrator should seek more appropriate techniques. If he still finds it necessary to proceed to utilize the procedure, he does so at his peril for the public may react with considerable vigor and his organization may lose considerable support. Obviously, if these procedures are employed, they must be applied with the greatest of care.

VI. It is recommended that present methods of data collection and presentation, insofar as crime statistics are concerned, be re-evaluated and employed in the light of police and community relations considerations. (See Chapter VII.)

There is a need for police administrators to exercise the greatest discretion in their use of crime statistics, lest public impressions be created or cultivated that such data are being used in racially discriminatory

ways. It should also be remembered that the average police officer is not an anthropologist, and therefore there are inherent difficulties in the processes by which this police officer classifies arrestees. On the administrative level, there are justifiable uses of racially delineated crime information, in fact even sometimes to further the best interests of police and community relations, but such information must be handled with maximum professional prudence, and with candid interpretation to the public. Finally, certain racially delineated crime data are useful in evaluating community action programs, and in the empirical study of the causes of crime. The cardinal point is avoidance of the slightest suggestion that crime is in any way or in any sense racially caused. Something much more sophisticated than the general collection of crime statistics by race is required.

CONCLUSION

Proper perspective in the field of police and community relations currently demands that a great deal of attention be devoted to the particular problems of our time and society having to do with race relations and civil rights in this reference. The relevance of this can hardly be questioned. However, having said this as emphatically as it must be said, one must move to a realization that this is only an aspect,

however important and urgent at present, of the larger and deeper police-citizen relationship enigma. Racial, ethnic, and social class considerations aside, to what extent is the police-citizen relationship basically an adversary interaction? To the extent that this is so, why is it so? If there is inevitable conflict in the interaction, what constructive steps can be taken to alleviate the conflict in some degree by both sides? What about the dilemma of police-press relations? What is the proper police role in labor-management disputes? What problems are there in police dealings with mentally abnormal persons? What are the problems of cooperation and communication among those involved in the administration of criminal justice, e.g., the police, the courts, prosecution and corrections?

These are examples of pertinent questions in the field of police and community relations having little or nothing to do directly with race relations, and which this study has not explored. The importance of these questions, in the long range, is nonetheless acute.

This study underscores the vast need for additional studies and research of every conceivable kind. The researchable areas and questions are numerous, especially of the type involving evaluation of carefully constructed models, examples of which are part of the present study. The resources of social and behavioral science have hardly been touched with reference to this field, and indeed the

relevance thereof has only recently been suggested in the literature and publications now beginning to appear in the work of such scholars as James Q. Wilson, Jerome Skolnick, Michael Banton, Arthur Stinchcombe, H. L. Packer, Walter Gellhorn, Marvin Wolfgang and others.

Finally, one way of stating the central problem of police and community relations is to state it in terms of the role and function of the police in today's democratic society. The problem of role perception and role conflict, in these terms, becomes immediately apparent. As James Q. Wilson says it: "Some persons feel strongly that crime among minority groups ought to be stamped out even at a high cost in the violation of civil liberties; others feel that civil liberties ought to be safeguarded even at a high cost in crime".

This is to pose, once more, the ancient dilemma of authority and liberty. This study has not presumed to seek or to find the answer, or even an answer, to this question. But of this much, at least, there is reasonable assurance--that the ideal balance (some say the proper term is "tension") in the authority-liberty relationship in our contemporary society, insofar as the police-citizen interaction is concerned, will not be secured by the police along. This study has, at many points, advocated and stressed the responsibilities of professionalizing police executives and police organizations, so much so that the impression may be

left that only this side of the matter is seen. Reasons for this apparent "tilt" have been suggested earlier. Ultimately, however, those who have been involved in this study fully acknowledge that police and community relations is unquestionably a "two-way street", and that the only unit principle that makes sense in prospects for amelioration of the problems is that which emphasizes the necessity for partnership, teamwork, interprofessional, cooperative approaches by police and community.

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